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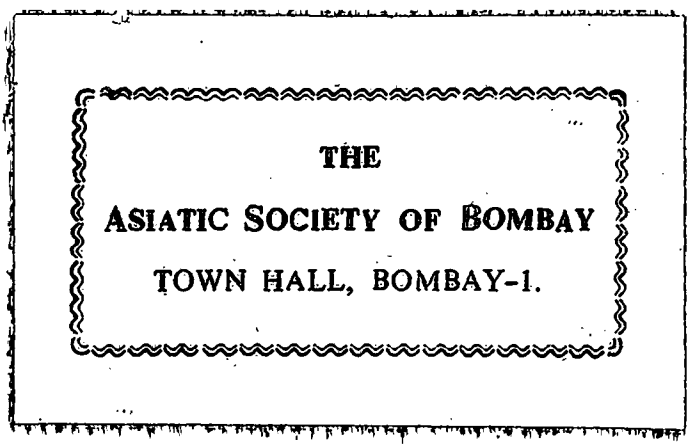

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VOL. XXVI.

Bleek's Introduction to the New Testament.

VOL. II.

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AN INTRODUCTION

TO

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY

FRIEDRICH BLEEK.

EDITED BY

JOHANNES FRIEDRICH BLEEK,

PFARRER.

111885

Translated from the German of the Second Edition,

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM URWICK, M.A.

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VOL. II.

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MDCCCLXX.

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NOTE BY TRANSLATOR.

THE Translator, in completing this second volume, has with sorrow to record the death of the Rev. JOHN FRIEDRICH BLEEK, the pious and able editor of this his sainted father's work. The notes bearing his signature, and the numerous insertions in brackets made by him as editor, but faintly indicate the fine scholarship which his friends hoped would have borne fruit —had it pleased God to spare him—in labours worthy of his father's fame. He was taken to his rest, after a lingering illness, on August 3, 1869.

PART I.

ORIGIN OF THE SEVERAL BOOKS.

(CONTINUED.)

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

§ 155.

THE Galatians were a people of Gallic or Germanic origin, who after various wanderings crossed over into Asia Minor, and spreading there, were driven back and held in check by Attalus I. king of Pergamos (B.C. 238),—their country being thus limited to that district of Phrygia which afterwards was called after them *Galatia*, or Gallo-Græcia. About the year 188 B.C. they were conquered by the Romans; in B.C. 26 their country was converted into a Roman province by Augustus, and, together with Lycaonia, was placed under the supervision of a Roman governor. The wandering barbarians by degrees associated with the surrounding Greeks, and learned their language, but they retained their vernacular in the intercourse of common life; and this, according to Jerome (*Proem. libr.* ii., *com. in ep. ad Gal.*), was almost the same as that spoken in Treves, one of the Rhine provinces of Prussia. Thus a natural and common bond of union was maintained among them; and this accounts for the fact that the Christian churches in Galatia seem to have been associated together so closely, that St. Paul could address an epistle to them collectively.

The Galatian churches, as our epistle shows (see Gal. i. 8, iv. 13–19; cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 1), were founded by St. Paul. This probably took place on the occasion of the apostle's second missionary tour: see Acts xvi. 6, where Phrygia and

the region of Galatia are named, though no particulars are there given of the visit. Both these districts are again named together in Acts xviii. 23, where we are told that St. Paul "went through them in order, city after city, strengthening (ἐπιστηρίζων) all the disciples;" and this implies their previous conversion. It appears (*a*) from ch. ii. 11–13 of our epistle, that it was written after the visit to Jerusalem recorded in Acts xv.; and (*b*) from ch. iv. 13, that St. Paul, when he wrote, had been twice in Galatia: for we may, with the highest probability, take the τὸ πρότερον to mean an earlier coming, in distinction from a second visit which also had been paid. We are thus led to think of the two visits named in the passages already quoted from the book of the Acts, and thus the epistle finds its place after the visit named in Acts xviii. 23.[1] The earliest date, accordingly, which we may assign to it is the beginning of St. Paul's residence in Ephesus, Acts xix.; but a later date is certainly possible, *e.g.* during his stay in Macedonia, or even in Corinth,—thus making it contemporaneous with 2d Corinthians or Romans.[2] Many expressions in the epistle (see *e.g.* iii. 1–5, v. 7, vi. 6) make it very probable that considerable time had elapsed since the gospel had been first introduced among the Galatians. One thing, however, certainly weighs in favour of its composition about the same time with the Romans, viz. the striking similarity between the two epistles in their subject-matter, and the topics dwelt upon, especially the doctrine of justification by faith. This leads to the probable conclusion that our epistle was not written at a very early period of the apostle's ministry, but at a later date, when the doctrine in question had been combated by Judaizing teachers, and had more accurately and permanently been defined.

There was a special reason for the apostle's advocacy of

[1] [This is now the generally adopted view, and most critics date the epistle during the residence at Ephesus; RÜCKERT, on the journey thither, or soon after the arrival there.]

[2] [DE WETTE is inclined to this view: see his *Exeget. Handb.*, and cf. CREDNER, *Einl.* p. 360.]

the great doctrine of justification by faith in this epistle. When first he came to Galatia, he had doubtless in the first instance visited, as was his wont, the Jewish synagogues there, and among his converts were some belonging to the circumcision (see ch. iii. 13, 23, 25, iv. 3, 5).[1] But he seems to have found most success among the heathen population, and the uncircumcised among the believers there predominated in numbers (see ch. iii. 29, iv. 8, 12, 17, 21, v. 2, vi. 12). Among these latter especially, the apostle upon his first visit had been well received, though he was at the time suffering from some grievous bodily ailment: this circumstance, indeed, added to the interest and efficacy of his preaching (iv. 13 sqq.). Subsequently, however, and after the apostle had left, Judaizing Christians, claiming high authority, as coming in the name and with the approval of the apostles at Jerusalem, "crept in unawares" into the Galatian churches, and excited trouble and disturbance, by requiring that all the Gentile members should be circumcised. These persons were, some of them at least, of Gentile origin, but had themselves submitted to circumcision: this may with probability be inferred from ch. v. 12, vi. 13.[2] They endeavoured by unscrupulous expedients to undermine the apostolic authority of St. Paul, representing that he was inferior to the Jerusalem apostles,—a teacher who had himself received his doctrine from them, and could teach only as commissioned by them. They succeeded in influencing many of the most restless spirits in the churches, and thus produced great disquiet, excitement, and suspicion concerning the apostle. Some[3] suppose that these men made their appearance before St. Paul's second visit, and that the apostle then found disorders prevailing among the converts;

[1] [This is denied by SCHNECKENB. (*Zweck der Apgesch.* p. 104), HILGENFELD (*Galaterbr.*, Leipzig 1852, p. 26 sqq.); cf. BAUR, *Paulus*, p. 252 sq.]

[2] [So SCHOTT, NEANDER, DE WETTE.]

[3] HEMSEN, RÜCKERT (*Comm. über d. Br. Pauli a. d. Gal.*, Leipz. 1833), SCHOTT (*Epp. P. ad Thess. et Gal.*, Leipz. 1834, and in his *Isagoge*), CREDNER, REUSS, WIESELER (*Comm. über die Br. Pauli an die Gal.*, Gött. 1859).

and certain passages seem to favour this view, *e.g.* iv. 13 sqq., compared with i. 9, v. 21, 3. But other passages seem rather to indicate that the apostle, when he wrote, had only just heard of these disturbances; *e.g.* i. 6, iii. 1, compared with v. 10, iv. 19, 20. It is possible that a considerable time had elapsed since St. Paul's second visit, and there is nothing to forbid the supposition that the epistle was written at Corinth about the same time as the Epistle to the Romans. All, however, that we may with certainty infer from the epistle is, that when the false teachers came among the Galatians, they gave ear to them (i. 6), and that as soon as the apostle heard of it he wrote to them.

The contents of the epistle quite correspond with this account of the matter. Immediately after the salutation the apostle expresses his surprise at the instability of the Galatians, and with great emphasis affirms the truth of his gospel. He then endeavours (ch. i. ii.) to vindicate his apostolic authority, and his independence of the apostles in Jerusalem, proving that he had received his gospel not from man, but by direct revelation of Jesus Christ, that he did not see the apostles at Jerusalem for some years after his conversion, and that the second time he met them was fourteen years subsequently, at the conference in Jerusalem, when they expressed themselves satisfied with his mode of preaching the gospel to the Gentiles. He relates how he met Peter at Antioch, and boldly rebuked and set him right, when, through fear and a desire to please, though contrary to his own former conduct and convictions, "he withdrew and separated himself" from the Gentile believers, who did not consider themselves bound to obey the Jewish law. In ch. iii. the apostle enters upon his argument in proof of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and not by the works of the law; and this topic occupies the greater part of the epistle down to ch. v. 15. This epistle has thus ever been one of the most important books of the New Testament, as bearing upon this great doctrine of the evangelical Church.

The apostle shows that by the works of the law man cannot be justified in the sight of God; that even to Abraham

righteousness was imputed only by his faith; and that they alone, even among the Jews, are true children of Abraham who are partakers of Abraham's faith. The law is only a tutor or schoolmaster for the time which intervened between the promise given to Abraham and his seed, and its fulfilment. Now that the Christ has come, it has lost its significance, and by faith in Him we are made free from its servitude. The apostle strictly charges the Galatians not to submit to circumcision, because thus they would render themselves amenable to the whole law: for those who hoped for justification by the works of the law, Christ had been crucified in vain. From ch. v. 16 onwards we have a hortatory application, with various warnings and precepts; and at ch. vi. 12 the apostle returns to the subject which was uppermost in his mind in writing the epistle.

It would appear from ch. vi. 11, that, contrary to his usual practice, the apostle wrote this epistle with his own hand: *Ἴδετε πηλίκοις ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί.*

The genuineness of this epistle has never (save by Bruno Bauer in 1851) been called in question.

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§ 156.

At the time when St. Paul wrote the first Epistle to the Corinthians, his purpose was "to tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost" (xvi. 8), and to spend the winter in Corinth (xvi. 6). It is possible, as we have already remarked, that he took the journey from Ephesus into Macedonia and Achaia somewhat later than he intended; but in any case, his residence in Corinth was certainly during the winter. The length of his stay in Achaia is given in Acts xx. 3 as three months, and the whole or greater part of these three months was spent in Corinth, where the troubled state of the Church gave him so much to do. According to the text just referred to in the Acts, his intention was to go by sea direct to Syria, in order the sooner to reach Jerusalem (cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 3 sqq.; 2 Cor. i. 16; Rom. xv. 25); but through some hostile proceedings on the part of the Jews, who "laid

wait for him" (Acts xx. 3), though we know not in what manner, he was obliged to change his plan; and he made the return journey through Macedonia again, and began it probably before Easter, *i.e.* nearly a year after he had written 1st Corinthians. He seems to have spent Easter with the Church at Philippi, who were so much attached to him (Acts xx. 6). From thence into Asia he was accompanied by several friends, named in Acts (ver. 4), among whom was Timothy, who doubtless had accompanied him from Corinth, where he had been with the apostle, and from whom the detailed account which follows in the Acts was obtained (see § 125). Two other friends of the apostle's, the Asiatics Tychicus and Trophimus, went before from Philippi to Troas, and there waited for the rest of the party.[1] St. Paul with the rest made the journey from Philippi to Troas in five days, immediately after the days of unleavened bread which he spent at Philippi. He stayed in Troas, confirming the disciples, seven days, until the Sunday when, intending to depart on the morrow, he continued his conversation with the believers unto midnight; and the account given of the restoration of the young man Eutychus, who, overcome by sleep, fell from the chamber in the third storey where they were gathered together (Acts xx. 7–12), bears the clearest marks of historical truth as given by an eye-witness. From Troas, St. Paul's party, among whom was the narrator, took ship and sailed to Assos (which was still in the district of Troas), and there met Paul, who had made the journey by land, either because he tarried in Troas after the sailing of the ship, or because he hoped to further the gospel somewhere on the way. At Assos he met the ship, and sailed thence with his companions in three days to Miletus. As St. Paul wished to be in Jerusalem by Pentecost, he sailed by Ephesus, because if he went there, he could not very quickly get away again. But he sent for the elders of the

[1] It is thus most probable that the οὗτοι of ver. 5 refers only to these two last named Asiatics, who are named separately from the rest. Lachmann's reading οὗτοι δέ makes this all the more probable. See above, § 125, and BLEEK, *Beitr.* p. 52.

Ephesian Church, and took a very solemn and affectionate farewell of them. He foresaw the dangers which awaited him in Jerusalem, referred to his past labours amongst them, and warned them of the inner dangers which threatened their community. Luke seems to have given the address in full (Acts xx. 18–35): see § 130. From Miletus they sailed to the islands Coos and Rhodes, and thence to Patara, a seaport of Lycia. There they took another ship, which sailed past Cyprus and direct to Tyre, where she was to discharge her cargo. Having stayed seven days with the Christian brethren at Tyre, they again took ship and came to Ptolemais, where they "saluted the brethren, and abode with them one day." Thence they travelled by land to Cæsarea (Stratonis), where they stayed several days at the house of Philip the evangelist and deacon. Here, as in other places, St. Paul was forewarned (by Agabus) of his seizure and imprisonment in Jerusalem; but neither these warnings, nor the entreaties of his companions in travel and of the brethren at Cæsarea, could turn him from his purpose, or prevent his proceeding on his journey. Some of the Christians from Cæsarea accompanied him to Jerusalem, and brought him and his companions (at least the narrator) to an old disciple, Mnason of Cyprus, with whom he was to lodge (xxi. 16).

§ 157.

On the day following, St. Paul went with his companions to James (the Lord's brother), with whom the elders of the Church were assembled. They rejoiced at the account which he gave of the happy effects of his preaching among the heathen. But they reminded him how numerous the believing Jews were in Judea, how zealous they were of the law (*ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου*), and how strongly they had felt against him when they heard of his teaching the Jews who lived among the Gentiles "to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs." This accusation, as they put it, was probably unfounded; but we may infer from it, that in the Pauline Churches there were many believing Jews living in

close intimacy with their Gentile brethren, and who, being separated from their countrymen, no longer adhered to the strict observance of the Jewish law, and perhaps ceased formally to incorporate their new-born children by circumcision into the fellowship of the Jewish people. St. Paul was advised to join himself with four Jewish Christians who had taken a Nazarite vow upon them, and to pay for them the charges made in order to release them from their vow, and thus to show that he had no wish to violate the Mosaic law. This advice he followed. But after seven days a tumult was raised against him by certain Jews from Asia, who saw him in the temple, and thought that he had brought with him a Greek, Trophimus the Ephesian, and thus had desecrated the temple. He was hurried out of the temple, and would probably have been killed by the impetuous fury of the mob, if he had not been rescued by the chief captain of the Roman cohort. He ordered him to be bound and taken into the castle, from the steps of which, having obtained his permission, St. Paul spoke to the people in Aramæan. At first they listened attentively to the account he gave of his conversion; but when he told them how he had seen a vision in the temple, and had been directed to go to the Gentiles, a passionate cry broke forth against him, whereupon the chief captain brought him into the military quarters of the cohort. The chief captain was then going to examine him, and find out who and what he was, by scourging, but he forbore when he heard that Paul was a Roman citizen. On the following day he loosed him from his bonds, and had him brought before the Sanhedrim, where, when St. Paul declared that he was persecuted on account of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, a dissension arose between the Pharisees and the Sadducees in the council. The chief captain, fearing lest Paul should fall a victim to their rage, had him brought again into the castle. A number of Jews now bound themselves by an oath that they would kill Paul whenever he was again brought through the streets to appear before the Sanhedrim. This led the chief captain, who had been informed of the plot by Paul's sister's son, to send off

the apostle by night with an escort of soldiers from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, to the custody of the Jewish procurator there, (Antonius) Felix, who commanded him to be kept in Herod's palace till his accusers came (Acts xxiii. *fin.*). After the lapse of five days, the high priest Ananias, with other members of the Sanhedrim, and a Roman advocate named Tertullus, came to make a formal charge against Paul. Felix, however, postponed the decision, and kept Paul in confinement, but unbound, and permitted his friends to minister to him and visit him (Acts xxiv. 23). Felix himself often sent for him, and had interviews with him. Indeed, he would have liberated him if Paul had offered him money, and if he had not been afraid of further provoking the Jews, whom he had already alienated by his oppressive acts. Thus, when Porcius Festus succeeded him two years afterwards, he left Paul still a prisoner, and now again in chains (xxiv. 27). Festus having entered upon the duties of his office, the Jews renewed their charges against Paul. After about fourteen days, Festus brought him face to face with his accusers at Cæsarea. He asked him if he would go up to Jerusalem—as the Jews before had requested—to be judged there; but Paul appealed as a Roman citizen to Cæsar,—an appeal which Festus at once acquiesced in (xxv. 1–12). St. Paul probably made this appeal because, as we have seen, he had long before wished and planned to go to Rome; and in a night vision, during his imprisonment in Jerusalem, the Lord had told him that he should go thither. Meanwhile Paul was once more brought forth for trial, when King Agrippa[1] came, with his wife Berenice, to Cæsarea to greet the new governor. Agrippa wished to see Paul, and Festus was glad to have the opportunity of bringing the matter before Agrippa as a Jew, because he did not distinctly understand upon what charge he should send Paul to the emperor. The speech which Paul made on this occasion did not fail to impress Agrippa, who declared, "This man might have been set

[1] Agrippa II., who then held what had been the tetrarchy of Philip, with some districts in Peræa and Galilee, together with the supervision of the temple in Jerusalem, and a voice in the election of the high priest.

at liberty if he had not appealed unto Cæsar" (xxv. 13–xxvi. *fin.*). Paul was then handed over, with other prisoners, to the custody of a captain who was to convey them to Rome. A very beautiful and graphic account of this journey is given in the Acts (xxvii. xxviii.) by a fellow-traveller with the apostle, though not a fellow-prisoner, probably Timothy (§ 125). Aristarchus of Thessalonica was also with him, who had already accompanied him from Macedonia to Jerusalem (xx. 4), and who previously had been with him during his residence in Ephesus, and is described (Acts xix. 29) as one of his companions in travel. Throughout the journey Paul was treated by the captain with great kindness, and was for the most part allowed his freedom, so that he could hold converse with the Christian brethren at the various seaports at which the vessel called. Upon their journey they encountered many mishaps and dangers. They set sail in a ship bound for Asia Minor, and called at Sidon, where Paul visited his Christian friends; then north of Cyprus, along the coasts of Cilicia and Pamphylia, to Myra in Lycia. There they went on board a ship of Alexandria sailing for Italy. Detained by contrary winds and slow sailing, they at length reached Crete. It was now late in the year, perhaps October (xxvii. 9); and sailing being uncertain and dangerous, Paul advised a postponement of the remaining voyage. His counsel was not acted upon, for they hoped to reach a better haven, Phenice, on the south-west coast of Crete. But in this they did not succeed. They were driven about on the high seas by a terrific storm, and the ship became utterly unmanageable. For fourteen days they were driven up and down in the Adriatic, and at length they were shipwrecked on the coast of Malta. All souls on board, 276 in number, were saved. Paul had frequently encouraged them by his hopeful words, and by telling them a vision which had been made to him. At Malta they were hospitably received, especially St. Paul and his friends, the apostle showing his miraculous gifts in shaking the viper from his hand, and healing many who had diseases on the island (xxviii. 1–10). They tarried in Malta three months, until the spring, when

they sailed in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the isle, by way of Syracuse, where they stayed three days, and Rhegium, to Puteoli. There St. Paul found Christian brethren, acceding to whose request he stayed there seven days. Thence he went with his friends to Rome; and the brethren from thence came to meet him, some to Appii Forum, and some to the Three Taverns (xxviii. 11–15).

In Rome, St. Paul was not kept in custody with the other prisoners, but was suffered to dwell by himself in a hired house, with a soldier that kept him, to whom, according to the then prevailing custom, he was chained (Acts xxviii. 16, 20, 30). The book of the Acts then tells how during the first few days he had certain conferences with the Roman Jews, and concludes with the statement that he abode two whole years in his hired dwelling, receiving without let or hindrance all who came to him, preaching the kingdom of God, and "teaching the things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence."

§ 158.

Before proceeding further, I here offer a few remarks upon the *chronology* of the Apostle Paul's life, as far as this is indicated in the statements of the Acts. The main point of reckoning to be considered is the date of the retirement of Felix from the governorship of Judea, and the coming of a new procurator, Porcius Festus, after Paul had been two years a prisoner at Cæsarea. Upon his coming to Rome, Felix was called upon to vindicate himself against the charges of the Jews who came to accuse him from Cæsarea, and he owed his acquittal only to the intercession of his brother Pallas in his behalf with Nero (Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 8. 9). Now, as Pallas was put to death in the year A.D. 62 (Tacitus, *Annals,* xiii. 2. 14), Felix must have come to Rome before this date, at the latest in the autumn of the year 61;[1] so that the spring during which St. Paul arrived in Rome would be, at the latest, that of the year 62 A.D. There is another

[1] [LEHMANN, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1858, pp. 312 sqq., would put the recall of Felix in the year 58.]

reason for fixing this as the latest date for St. Paul's arrival, —namely, that in July 64 the great burning in Rome by Nero took place, together with the terrible persecution of the Christians there. Now, if Paul had only arrived in Rome in the spring of A.D. 63, he would have been there only a year before that great persecution,—a persecution wherein he would have been one of the first to suffer; and he certainly could not in this case have preached two whole years in his hired house, no man forbidding him (Acts xxviii. 30, 31). But the apostle's arrival cannot be placed much earlier than the year 62, if our remarks in § 141 are correct. We have placed St. Paul's first visit to Corinth (Acts xviii. 1 sqq.) in the year A.D. 54, or possibly in 53. Reckoning onwards from this, we have first the residence in Corinth for at least one year and a half; the residence at Ephesus (ch. xix.) of at least two years and a quarter, *i.e.* taking both together, about four years,—allowing one year for the journey from Ephesus over Macedonia to Jerusalem (from Pentecost one year to Pentecost in the next) = five years; from the arrival in Jerusalem to the arrival in Rome, nearly three years,— making eight years. To this we must add some time for the journey (Acts xviii. 18 sqq.) from Corinth to Jerusalem and Antioch, through Galatia and Phrygia, onwards to the arrival at Ephesus, for which, considering the stay made at different places, at least half a year, and perhaps longer, must be allowed. Thus, for the interval between the first coming to Corinth, in Acts xviii. 1, and the arrival in Rome, a period of eight and a half years is required; and putting the arrival in Corinth in the year 54, we are brought down *beyond* the year 62, which, as we have seen, is inadmissible. We thus are obliged to put the arrival in Corinth a little earlier, *i.e.* in the year 53. Many (*e.g.* Anger, Fritzsche, Wieseler, and others; see above, § 136) reckon the fourteen years named in Gal. ii. 1 from St. Paul's conversion, and this obliges them to put the arrival in Corinth still earlier. But this way of reckoning the fourteen years is, if we examine the context, almost inadmissible. As St. Paul gives his dates in Gal. ii. simply in years (three and fourteen years), we need not

necessarily suppose that full years are meant in both cases; possibly both periods together may have amounted to sixteen years, or a little over, so that the second visit to Jerusalem (Gal. ii.; Acts xv.) may have taken place in A.D. 50, or at least in 51, and the first visit to Corinth in A.D. 53, which would give us nine years between and A.D. 62. But here another possible chronology suggests itself. We have estimated the interval between St. Paul's seizure and imprisonment in Jerusalem and his arrival in Rome as three years; and this is the usual term assigned to it, inferred from the statement in Acts xxiv. 27, that Felix after the lapse of two years (*i.e.* reckoning from the beginning of St. Paul's imprisonment) was succeeded in his office by Festus. It is barely possible that this may be an inexact way of saying that Festus came in the second year, *i.e.* late in the summer of the year following that during the passover of which St. Paul was seized. In this case we should need a year less for the space between the coming to Corinth and the arrival in Rome, and there would be nothing to hinder our taking the spring of 62 as the date of the arrival in Rome, and 54 as the year of the coming to Corinth; or placing the coming to Corinth in 53, and dating the arrival in Rome in the year 61. It is evident from this that a certain degree of uncertainty must always attach to the chronology of the apostle's life, when we come to fix exact dates for each event and each epistle,—an uncertainty which, with the data we possess, we cannot altogether remove. This is the inference to which an unprejudiced consideration of the numerous works treating of the subject, and in particular that of so careful and diligent a scholar as Wieseler, must lead.

There are some other data in the Acts which have been used in chronological calculations concerning the Apostle Paul's life, and which, though they do not really help us, we may enumerate here. Acts xxiii. 2 and xxiv. 1 have been referred to, where, in the accusations of the Jews against Paul, Ananias is named as the high priest. Again, Acts xxi. 38, where, upon Paul's seizure in Jerusalem, the chief captain is represented as imagining that Paul was an Egyptian

Jew, who, *πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν*, raised an insurrection (which Josephus also names). Further, Acts xxviii. 16, where in the received text it is stated that, upon their arrival in Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the *στρατοπεδάρχης*, *i.e.* to the *præfectus prætorio*. There were usually two *præfecti prætorio;* and from the use of the singular here, it has been supposed that just at that time there was but one, viz. Afranius Burrhus, before and after whom there were two. Burrhus died in the first month of the year 62, and it is therefore inferred that Paul could not have arrived in Rome during this year, but must have come during the previous year. Thus Anger, Wieseler, and others argue. But even this is quite uncertain: for, as De Wette, *in loc.*, rightly says, the *τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ* does not by any means oblige us to suppose that there was at the time only one *præfectus prætorio;* and moreover these words are wanting in most of the oldest MSS., so that Lachmann expunges them altogether. But even supposing the argument correct, Paul might still have arrived in the year 62, very early in the year, while Burrhus was still living; for we do not know the exact month and day of the month on which Burrhus died.

We may, however, with tolerable certainty conclude that the apostle's arrival in Rome took place in the spring either of 61 or 62—the latter seems to me the more probable—and his departure from Cæsarea in the autumn previous. The dates of the preceding events will arrange themselves accordingly. The seizure in Jerusalem took place at the passover three (or perhaps only two) years earlier, *i.e.* A.D. 59 or 60; and the journey from Ephesus to Macedonia and Achaia (Acts xx. 1) about Pentecost in the year before (58 or 59), in which same year both the Epistles to the *Corinthians* were written, from Ephesus and Macedonia, and in the winter the Epistle to the *Romans* from Corinth, and probably that to the *Galatians*. The coming to Ephesus (Acts xix. 1) will fall probably in the autumn of 55 or 56, and the first visit to Corinth (Acts xviii. 1) in 53 or 54; and during the same or the following year, certainly during the residence in Corinth, 1st and 2d *Thessalonians* were written.

During St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome, and before the expiration of the two years mentioned in Acts xxviii. 30, 31, the Epistles to the *Ephesians*, *Colossians*, *Philemon*, and *Philippians* were in all probability written. It is tolerably certain that all four were written during this two years' imprisonment, that the three first named were sent off about the same time; and the fourth, the Epistle to the Philippians, at a different time, but whether before or after the other three we cannot with certainty decide.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

§ 159.

The Church at Philippi was founded by St. Paul (in the manner already described, § 140) upon his second great missionary journey with Silas and Timotheus (Acts xvi.); and he visited the Christians there a second time in the course of his subsequent European tour (Acts xx. 1 sqq.), upon his journey to Corinth, staying some time among them, and writing our 2d Corinthians, and upon the return journey spending Easter there. If, as we think at least possible (§ 146), St. Paul's preaching in Illyricum (Rom. xv. 19), together with the second visit to Corinth (which 2d Corinthians presupposes), took place during an intermediate European tour not related in the Acts, we may with tolerable certainty conclude that he then visited also the Macedonian churches, and that of Philippi in particular; for a special intimacy subsisted between this Church and the apostle. The Philippian Christians, among whom were some people of substance, had repeatedly supplied the apostle with money when he was at Thessalonica and afterwards (Phil. iv. 15, 16); and to them in particular the apostle's observation in 2 Cor. xi. 9 refers, when he says that what was lacking to him at Corinth the brethren from Macedonia supplied. St. Paul accordingly praises the Macedonian Christians, having doubtless in mind those at Philippi in particular, for their very great liberality, even beyond their ability, towards their poorer brethren in Judea (2 Cor. viii. 1 sqq., ix. 4; Rom. xv. 26).

The Church at Philippi, like that at Thessalonica, consisted mainly, though not exclusively, of Gentile Christians, many of whom had before their conversion adopted the Jewish worship. This is evident partly from the account given in the book of the Acts of the first beginnings of the Church there; and it is still more obvious from ch. iii. 2, 3 of the epistle, which implies that the majority of those whom the apostle had in his eye when writing, were believing Gentiles, and not of the circumcision. There had indeed been among them some Judaizing zealots endeavouring to persuade the Gentile Christians to submit to circumcision, and this from unworthy motives (Phil. iii. 2 sqq., 18, 19). But their efforts seem to have had little or no effect. There were dissensions among the members (Phil. i. 27, ii. 2 sqq.), especially between two female members, perhaps deaconesses (iv. 2); but these differences were probably personal, arising from positiveness, and want of humility and a yielding spirit. Upon the whole, however, St. Paul had great cause for thankfulness and satisfaction with the state of the Church, and the zeal it displayed.

It may, I think, with tolerable certainty be inferred from ch. iii. 1, that St. Paul had written a letter to the Philippians previous to the one which has come down to us, and after his last visit. This, indeed, we might naturally suppose to have been the case, when we consider the warm affection subsisting between the apostle and the Church, and their communicating with him in his necessity. This letter has been lost. Some have supposed, and even Meyer is of opinion, that in Polycarp, *ad Phil.* c. iii.,[1] there is a testimony for a plurality of letters to the Philippian Church known to Polycarp. But this is a mistaken inference from the words, for in another place (ch. xi.[2]) it is clear that only one epistle was known to Polycarp.

As to the *occasion* of the epistle: it appears that the

[1] Ὅς (Παῦλος) καὶ ἀπὼν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς. Cf. *Exeg. Vorlesungen über den Phil.-Brief:* ἐπιστολαί in the plural was often used among the Greeks with reference to a single letter.

[2] *Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus*

Philippians had, after the lapse of some time, again sent a present to the apostle by Epaphroditus, one of the Christian brethren in their midst (Phil. ii. 25, iv. 10–12, 18). This their messenger was taken very sick and nigh unto death while with the apostle, and the Philippians who had heard of his illness were very anxious about him. Epaphroditus himself also felt a great longing to return home, and St. Paul was unwilling to detain him longer than was necessary for his recovery. His returning was the immediate occasion of our epistle which was sent by him,—a letter quite epistolary in style, and distinguished among the Pauline letters addressed to whole churches for its great affectionateness. It contains a commendation of the Philippians, and thanks for what they had sent,—exhortations to concord and humbleness of mind, and warnings against the machinations of Judaizing teachers, —information concerning the apostle's present condition and circumstances, his fears concerning the end which seemed to threaten him, and his still stronger hopes of a favourable issue; yet withal his cheerful acquiescence in the will of God, whatever the result might be. In a doctrinal point of view, the passage in ch. ii. 5–11 is of great importance, as presenting the Apostle Paul's view of the person of Christ in the successive states of humiliation and exaltation; His pre-existence, His humiliation in the incarnation, His obedience unto death, and His exaltation. Still this great doctrinal statement is introduced only by the way, in the midst of an exhortation to humility, in illustration of which grace he refers to Christ Jesus.

§ 160.

Place and time of writing.—When he wrote this epistle, the apostle was in prison, and indeed in chains, "for the defence of the gospel" (Phil. i. 7, 13, 14, 17). It was not a temporary imprisonment, but had already lasted a considerable time; and while entertaining the hope that he might soon be liberated (ch. i. 25, 26, 27), he still has before him

Paulus, qui estis (laudati?) in principio epistolæ ejus. De vobis etenim gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, etc.

the possibility that he may have to suffer martyrdom (ch. i. 20, ii. 17). He expects, however, that his liberation, even if it does take place, will be deferred some time; for he expresses his intention, before he himself, as he hoped and longed, could come to them (i. 26, 27, ii. 24), to send Timotheus, who was with him—for he names him in the salutation (ch. i. 1), and the epistle was perhaps dictated to him—to bring back tidings concerning them (ch. ii. 19–23). These circumstances lead to the very probable and generally received conclusion that the epistle was written from Rome; and this is further confirmed by ch. i. 13 and iv. 22. In ch. i. 13 the apostle says, *ὥστε τοὺς δεσμούς μου φανερούς ἐν Χριστῷ γενέσθαι ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν.* The word *πραιτώριον* here is most naturally to be taken as referring (according to the ordinary usage of the word) to the permanent quarters or barracks of the Prætorians, or more appropriately to this imperial body-guard itself, the corps of the Prætorians.[1] In ch. iv. 22 we have the expression *οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας*, which denotes the servants, either slaves or freedmen, in the palace of the emperor. This latter passage in particular points to Rome as the place of writing; and we cannot for a moment entertain the opinion[2] that it was written at Cæsarea, or at Corinth,[3] during the apostle's residence there (Acts xviii.).

Some[4] have divided the epistle into two distinct letters,—the one addressed to the entire Church, and the other to the special friends of the apostle, or (as Paulus thinks) to the

[1] Cf. *Vorlesungen üb. d. Phil.-Br.:* "I doubt whether the word is ever used of the barracks of the Prætorian guard. This passage alone would not be quite decisive in favour of Rome as the place of writing, because a reference to Herod's palace at Cæsarea (Acts xxiii. 35) would at least be admissible."

[2] H. E. G. PAULUS, *Progr. de tempore scriptæ prioris ad Timoth. atque ad Philipp. ep. Pauli*, Jena 1799, 4to; and *Heidelb. Jahrbb.* 1825, H. 5. BÖTTGER, *Beiträge z. Einl. in die Paul. Briefe*, ii. (Gött. 1837) 47 sqq.

[3] G. L. OEDER, in a *Programm*, Ansbach 1731. See, against his view, WOLF, *Curæ philol.* iv. 168 sqq. (ed. 2); BERTHOLDT, vi. 3407 sqq.

[4] HEINRICHS, in vol. vii. Part ii. of the *Koppisch. N. T.*; and PAULUS, *Heidelb. Jahrbb.* 1812, Part vii. p. 702 sq.

bishops and deacons. Heinrichs and Paulus, who hold this theory, differ in the division they make, and the parts which they assign to each letter; and as the opinion has been already sufficiently disproved by many, and especially by De Wette (§ 150, *a*), we need not dwell upon it here.

The *genuineness* of the epistle was universally recognised in the early Church, and has been down to our own time. Of late, however, it has been disputed by Baur (*Paulus*, pp. 458–475) and Schwegler (ii. 133–135: cf. p. 29, note; i. 168, 169). But the arguments urged by Baur—and Schwegler follows him closely—are partly derived from a perverted interpretation of certain passages in the epistle: they partly rest upon arbitrary historical presuppositions; some of them are really so weak, that we can hardly believe that he could have attached any importance to them himself. As one of the New Testament books, this epistle has not in the slightest degree the aspect of a clever forgery by some falsifier, who, either with or without an ulterior design, composed it in the name of St. Paul. The whole epistle is artless, the individual outgo of an affectionate heart; and its manner and style can be explained in no other way than as his work whose it pretends to be. We have, moreover, some very early witnesses in its favour; for Polycarp twice refers to it as St. Paul's (see above, § 159), and Marcion agrees with the orthodox Church in recognising it as Pauline. The genuineness of the epistle is vindicated not only in several modern commentaries, but also in two monographs, the one by Lünemann (*Pauli ad Phil. ep. contra Baurium defendit*, Gött. 1847), and the other by Brückner (*Ep. ad Phil. Paulo auctori vindicata contra Baurium*, Leipz. 1848).

THE EPISTLES TO THE COLOSSIANS, PHILEMON, AND EPHESIANS.[1]

§ 161.

These three epistles were all of them written during a protracted imprisonment, which was already known to those who were primarily addressed (see Col. iv. 3, 18, 10, cf. i. 24; Philem. 1, 9, 10, 23; Eph. iii. 1, iv. 1, vi. 20); and they were all three despatched at the same time in the care of Tychicus and Onesimus,—the two first to Colosse, in the south-west of Phrygia, and the third to a place in the same district. The universal belief in early times was that St. Paul wrote them from Rome; and this is stated in the postscripts of the Greek MSS. and versions, which usually name the place of writing. But in modern times the view has been advocated that they were written at Cæsarea during St. Paul's imprisonment there.[2] The former opinion is in all probability the true one. Rome is not indeed actually named in any of these epistles as the place of imprisonment, and many things stated might be explained with reference to Cæsarea as well as Rome. But there is nothing which directly refers us to Cæsarea, nor is there anything that favours the supposition of Cæsarea as the place of writing more than that of Rome, when we recollect that, though the distance between Cæsarea and Phrygia is less than that between Phrygia and Rome, still the intercourse of this province with Rome as the chief city was much more frequent and brisk than with Cæsarea or Palestine generally. One thing which is urged in favour of

[1] [See Dr. FRIEDRICH BLEEK'S *Vorlesungen über die Briefe an die Kolosser, den Philemon, und die Epheser*, edited by Lic. FRIEDRICH NITZSCH, Berlin 1865.]

[2] So first DAV. SCHULZ (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1829, pp. 612–617); afterwards SCHOTT, § 66; BÖTTGER, *Beitr.* ii. 47 sqq.; WIGGERS, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1841, pp. 436–450; MEYER; REUSS [WEISS in *Herzog's Realencykl. Supplem.* i. 717 sqq.]. DE WETTE also, from his second edition onwards, was inclined to this view; so still in the fifth and sixth editions (§ 141, *a*), though in his *Exeg. Handb.* (vol. ii. Part iv. 1843; 2d ed. 1847) he decidedly inclines to the older view.

Cæsarea we reserve for consideration further on (§ 165). I here name the following circumstances which seem decidedly to turn the balance in favour of Rome.

a. According to Col. iv. 3, 4, 11, Eph. vi. 19, 20, it would appear that St. Paul, though in imprisonment, was still active in advancing God's kingdom by preaching the gospel. It is clear from Acts xxviii. 16 sqq. that he had this liberty in Rome; and in ver. 31 it is expressly said that "he preached the kingdom of God, and taught those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him." But it is very unlikely that he had any such liberty at Cæsarea, for it would at once have aroused and called forth the complaint and protestation of the Jews in Jerusalem; and there is no mention of any such liberty at Cæsarea in the Acts, but simply an act of indulgence on the part of Felix in allowing his friends to visit him, and to minister to him when he was in prison.

b. During the imprisonment referred to in these epistles, the apostle was in chains. Eph. vi. 20, ἐν ἁλύσει; Col. iv. 3, δέδεμαι; iv. 8, μνημονεύετέ μου τῶν δεσμῶν; Philem. 10, ὃν ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς. See also Eph. iii. 1, iv. 1, Philem. 1, 9, where he speaks of himself as δέσμιος. This quite corresponds with what we know of his imprisonment in Rome, where, as we have seen, he lived in a hired house, but with a soldier who kept guard over him, to whom he was chained; a fact which he expressly refers to in his words recorded in Acts xxviii. 20, where he speaks of the ἅλυσις in which he then was. In his Epistle to the Philippians, which beyond all doubt was written from Rome, he speaks of his bonds, δεσμοί (Phil. i. 7, 13, 14, 17), just as in the three epistles now before us. During his imprisonment in Cæsarea, on the other hand, while actually in prison, he was, it would appear, unbound (see § 157). He was during the entire time there in a *custodia libera*. It is at least in the highest degree probable that the ἔχειν ἄνεσιν in Acts xxiv. 23 refers mainly to this fact, though Wieseler (p. 380) will not allow this. It would appear that Felix, upon his retirement from the governorship, bound the apostle for the sake of pleasing the

Jews (xxiv. 27); and he therefore refers to his chain in his address to Agrippa (Acts xxvi. 29). If these epistles are to be dated from Cæsarea, we should have to place them at the very end of St. Paul's imprisonment there, after the retirement of Felix. But other considerations prevent our thus placing them. For St. Paul could not certainly then have entertained the hope of a speedy liberation, having appealed unto Cæsar; a hope which he certainly did entertain when he wrote our epistles, as is clear from Philem. 2, where he instructs Philemon to prepare him a lodging, "for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you."

c. It must further be remembered that St. Paul, before his seizure and imprisonment, had planned, when he had conveyed the collection to Jerusalem, to go thence to Rome, and onwards into Spain (Acts xix. 21; Rom. xv. 23–25); and, moreover, that after his seizure in Jerusalem, he had a night vision, wherein the Lord told him that he should bear witness for Him in Rome (Acts xxiii. 11). We therefore may certainly presume that during his Cæsarean imprisonment he had before him the prospect (even in case of his liberation) of going to Rome; and it is improbable that during this time he could have been looking forward mainly to a visit to Phrygia, in the heart of Asia Minor. But in the Epistle to the Philippians (ii. 24) we find that the apostle, when in Rome, entertained the thought of going after his liberation to Macedonia, and thence he might naturally purpose to proceed into Asia Minor and Phrygia.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

§ 162.

The city of Colossæ (or Colassæ, according to Lachmann's reading of ch. i. 2) lay in the south-west of Phrygia, on the river Lycus, near to Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Apamea. At one time it must have been an important city, and ranked even in Strabo's time (the beginning of the first century) side

by side with Apamea and Laodicea. In the time of Nero it suffered, like Laodiceæ and Hierapolis, from earthquake; but we know not in what year or to what extent. According to Eusebius, it was in the tenth (A.D. 64), according to Orosius (vii. 7) in the fourteenth year of Nero; and according to both accounts, subsequently to the writing of our epistle. But according to Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 27), it is probable, though he mentions Laodicea only, that the earthquake took place in the seventh year of Nero, *i.e.* A.D. 60, and a few years *before* the writing of our epistle. Perhaps Colossæ did not suffer so much as Orosius seems to intimate, or it soon revived again, and was restored, as Tacitus tells us was the case with Laodicea.

St. Paul had been twice in Phrygia (Acts xvi. 6, xviii. 23), but on neither occasion in the south-west of that country, where Colosse lay, but only in the east and north. It is evident from our epistle (ii. 1) that the Christians at Colosse, like them at Laodicea, were personally unknown to the apostle when he wrote. Some have denied the force of this passage, and some have even used it as an argument that the apostle had been there.[1] Theodoret, Schulz, and others, suppose that St. Paul here speaks of the Christians who had not seen his face in the flesh, as distinct from those at Colosse and Laodicea; and Wiggers takes the *καί* before *ὅσοι* as = *also*, so that St. Paul mentions those "who had not seen his face in the flesh" as being certain among those at Colosse and Laodicea. But neither explanation is at all probable if we take into consideration the words of ver. 2: *ἵνα παρακληθῶσιν αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.* This clearly refers, not to some of those mentioned in ver. 1, but to all; and this is only natural if we take *ὅσοι, κ.τ.λ.*, not in contrast with those before named, nor as specifying a few among them, but as including all the Christians at Colosse and Laodicea, together with others in the district: "I would not have you ignorant what a conflict (unceasing anxiety) I have for you and them

[1] So even Theodoret; also Lardner, and after him D. Schulz, Schott, Neudecker, Böttger, Wiggers (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1838, i. pp. 165–188).

at Laodicea, and as many more in the district as have not seen my face in the flesh." Ch. ii. 5 as little sanctions the notion of the apostle having visited Colosse, though Wiggers lays stress upon it; nor does ch. i. 7, to which he also refers, but which rather implies the contrary.

We may with apparent certainty conclude that the Epaphras named in ch. i. 7, and who was himself a Colossian (iv. 12), had been the instructor of the Colossians in the truths of Christianity: by his preaching most of them had been converted; and perhaps those too in Laodicea and Hierapolis (iv. 13) had also first heard the gospel from his lips. St. Paul seems (iv. 10) to have had some communication with the Colossians before this epistle, either oral or written, but it was probably a very short time before. Indeed, the epistle generally conveys the impression that the Colossians had been converted only a little while before, and that St. Paul had only lately heard of the fact (Col. i. 3, 5 sqq., 9, ii. 6, 7). From the description given of them, ch. i. 2, we are led to infer that they were not as yet formed into a Christian Church, with bishops or elders and deacons; and this would not have been the case had St. Paul himself preached the gospel among them some years previously. Epaphras himself had probably been taught the gospel by the apostle, and become acquainted with him somewhere else, perhaps at Ephesus during the long residence of the apostle there; and so perhaps had others of the Colossians, *e.g.* Philemon (Philem. 13, 19) and his family. These persons, especially Epaphras, had been very active and devoted, and had been very successful in bringing others around them to the Lord. Epaphras was now with the imprisoned apostle, and through him St. Paul obtained further information concerning the believers at Colosse (ch. i. 7 sqq., iv. 12), to which he refers in his epistle. The believers there seem all of them, or nearly all, to have been Gentiles; see in particular ch. ii. 13. But certain persons had come among them after their conversion, who disturbed and perplexed them in their simple faith; and this caused great grief and anxiety to St. Paul and to Epaphras.

§ 163.

There has been much difference of opinion as to who these false teachers were. The question first arises, Did they belong to the Christian Church? Some have denied this, and have supposed them to have been Jews, Essenes, Alexandrine Jews, or the like; thus, *e.g.*, Eichhorn, Schneckenburger (in the *Stud. u. Krit.* 1832, 840 sqq.), and others. Some again (especially Hug) suppose them to have been espousers of a Greek or Eastern philosophy. But we cannot doubt, from what is said of them in the epistle, that they outwardly belonged to the Christian community. Otherwise St. Paul could not have spoken concerning them as he does in ch. ii. 19: *οὐ κρατῶν τὴν κεφαλήν, κ.τ.λ.* (*i.e.* Christ). Nor can we really seriously doubt that they were Jewish Christians of a very strict Judaizing tendency. It is clear from ch. ii. 11, cf. iii. 11, that they insisted upon circumcision as necessary in order to participation in the blessings of God's kingdom; and still more plain from ii. 16, 17, 20, 21, that they urged obedience to the Jewish laws concerning meats and purifyings, feasts and feast-days, especially the Sabbath or seventh day. With this legalizing tendency there was combined in them a leaning to asceticism (ii. 23) and to speculative theosophy (ii. 8, 18); and they prided themselves upon very profound ideas concerning heavenly beings, and gave to angels a kind of worship (cf. i. 16 sqq.). Their views thus somewhat resembled those of the Essenes among the Jews who practised a strict asceticism, and busied themselves about the names and genealogies of angels. We cannot tell, however, whether these false guides at Colosse had any real connection with the Essenes (as Ewald and others suppose); or that, before embracing Christianity, they had belonged to the Essenes, and had imported into Christianity some of the peculiarities of that sect. Such tendencies were prevalent at the time among many pharisaic Jews who did not belong to that particular sect.[1] But we can easily understand how such a tendency would make way among many of the Gentile

[1] [Neander finds in these errors precursors and forebodings of the Cerinthian Gnosis, and so does Friedr. Nitzsch in his note to Bleek's

Christians who would not be attracted by mere Judaism, and would make them more inclined than otherwise they could have been to adopt certain restrictions of the Jewish law—thus drawing them aside from pure evangelical Christianity. Hence St. Paul thinks it right in this epistle to warn his readers most emphatically against being led astray

Vorles. über d. Br. pp. 15, 16:—"That Cerinthus was a Jewish Christian who maintained circumcision and rejected St. Paul's authority, is evident from EPIPHANIUS (*Hær.* 28), IRENÆUS (i. 26), PSEUDO-ORIGINES (*Philos.* vii. 33), and PSEUDO-TERTULLIAN (*Præscript.* 48). These writers unanimously attribute to him an Ebionizing Christology; and to this must be added as a further sign his strong chiliasm (Caius in EUSEB. *H. E.* iii. 28, cf. vii. 25; and THEODORET, *Hær. fab.* ii. 3). He must be reckoned among those gnostic Jewish Christians who held an intermediate position, and were passing over by degrees to Gnosticism proper. They did not as yet represent the Jehovah of the Jews as a limited Demiurge in relation to the universal Father, nor Judaism as a narrow religion in comparison of Christianity. PSEUDO-TERTULLIAN, indeed, intimates that the God of the Jews was, according to Cerinthus, a mere angel, and Irenæus says that the creative δύναμις of Cerinthus did not know the highest God until the baptism of Christ; and herein HUTHER finds a hindrance to the identifying of the Colossian heretics with Cerinthus. But these, perhaps, are characteristics which both narrators ('not troubling themselves with the nicer distinctions of later gnostic writers') have imported from Gnosticism into the views of Cerinthus. They certainly are not in keeping with those of a Jewish Christian. Dr. LIPSIUS seems to be correct in ascribing to Cerinthus the following view (see his work *Gnosticismus*, Leipz. 1860, pp. 80, 110, 141):—'The world was created by angels (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 24 (LXX.); Gal. iii. 19; Heb. ii. 2; Acts vii. 53; JOSEPHUS, *Antt.* xv. 5. 3; PHILO, *de opif. m.* i. 46, 48), according to the will of the Supreme God (still regarded as identical with the God of the O. T.); and among these angels *one* was chief. By command of the universal Father (whom they did not originally know, but to the knowledge of whom they arrived when the world was created), they send Moses and the prophets; but the true doctrine was ever falsified or mistaken, until at last, through the divine *Pneuma* (not through the heavenly Christ; see Lipsius, p. 58), it is revealed to the man Jesus at his baptism, and by him is fully preached.' Thus, according to Lipsius, the view of Cerinthus is presented free from inner contradictions. If this representation be correct, the affinity between the heretics among the Colossians and Cerinthus is clear at once. We trace it (1) in the Jewish-Christian element which underlies both views, the maintenance of circumcision, the rejection of St. Paul's authority, and the

by such men, and to exhort them to hold fast to Christ alone, to whom all things in heaven and earth are subject, and not to plunge themselves into speculations concerning things hidden from men, nor to devote themselves to a worshipping of angels, which drew them away from Christ. He then shows them that the circumcision necessary for the

Ebionite Christology. That Jesus was an ordinary man, born of Joseph and Mary, and distinguished above others only for his righteousness and wisdom; that, like Moses, he was only an organ of revelation (the mediators of which were the world-creating angels), only *a* prophet of the true religion; that his sacrifice had no atoning power, and no real significance;—all these marks of Ebionite Christology are not indeed expressly laid to the charge of the Colossian heretics. But when St. Paul insists upon the truth that Christ is the εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, that 'in Him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily' (ch. i. 15, 19, ii. 9), and that He made peace and reconciliation 'by the blood of His cross' (i. 20, 22, ii. 14), his reasoning clearly corresponds to that Ebionite Christology. There is nothing, however, leading us to suppose that the Colossian heretics regarded Jesus or Christ (the later Gnostics distinguish Christ from Jesus of Nazareth) as an *angel*. Had they reckoned Christ among the angels, He would at least have shared the worship which they held due to them; and though this would not have satisfied the apostle, he would certainly have spoken differently of them. He would have censured these heretics for not worshipping Christ exclusively, but only in common with the angels, and for regarding Him merely as an angel or archangel. The fact is, the apostle blames them for not worshipping Christ at all; for leaving Him out of their system altogether (for He was to them only a prophet), and for worshipping the angels instead of Him, whereas He was both Creator and Redeemer of angels as well as men (ch. i. 20). (2) Still more unmistakeable is the resemblance between the Colossian heretics and Cerinthus in their doctrine of intermediate powers—their doctrine concerning angels. St. Paul insists that Christ created all things (ch. i. 16), angels as well as men; that He is before all, and that in Him all have their being (ch. i. 17); that He is Head over the angels (ii. 10). He thus argues against the theory that under God the Father the world-creating δυνάμεις or angels, and not Christ, occupy the highest place in the ranks of being. (3) Another point of resemblance is in their enjoining asceticism. Whether the Colossian false teachers sprang from the Essenes among the Jews is another question—I would not at once deny it; but they probably formed an intermediate sect between the Essenes and the Cerinthians."—Fr. Nitzsch, note in Bleek's *Vorlesungen* on the Epistle to the Colossians, pp. 15–17.]

Christian consists in his putting off the old fleshly man, as is prefigured in baptism; and that to attach importance to outward Jewish enactments was really a resorting to "the rudiments of the world," to which the Christian must have died in his conversion to Christ. The second chapter, which is the main and central part of the epistle, treats of these topics. In ch. i. St. Paul expresses his gratitude to God for the grace imparted by Him to those whom he addresses, and tells them how they had been the subject of his prayers; and he then passes on to describe the glory and exaltation of Christ, and the greatness and universality of the reconciliation accomplished by Him for them. He further declares with what willingness, and even joy, he, the apostle, would suffer for them. In ch. iii. 1–iv. 6 he gives his readers several exhortations, that being risen with Christ to newness of life, they should walk worthily of their high vocation, according to the position in life they had to fill, whether husbands or wives, parents or children, masters or servants. From ch. iv. 7 to the end we have many personal references, salutations, etc.

When St. Paul wrote the epistle, several Christian friends were with him. The following are specially mentioned:— *a.* Timotheus, whom he names with himself in the greeting at the outset (i. 1), and to whom probably he dictated the letter; *b.* Aristarchus, ch. iv. 10, who had accompanied him on his voyage from Cæsarea to Rome (Acts xxvii. 2), and whom he here names as one of his fellow-prisoners, from which, however, we need not infer that he was actually deprived of his freedom; *c.* Mark, who was about soon to visit them (ch. iv. 10); *d.* Jesus Justus, who was also a Jewish Christian; Luke, Demas, and Epaphras, who belonged to Colosse (iv. 11–14), and of whom Ewald, without sufficient warrant, supposes that he was, like Paul, brought as a prisoner to Rome, and thus detained there. The apostle sends greetings to the brethren at Laodicea, and especially to Nymphas, "and the Church in his house" (iv. 15); and he charges his readers to see to it that the epistle is read in the Church of Laodicea, and that they should read "the Epistle

from Laodicea" (ver. 16),—an expression which can only refer to an Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans. Finally, he tells them to exhort Archippus faithfully to fulfil the ministry entrusted to him in the Lord (ver. 17); but we need not regard him (as in the *Const. Apost.* vii. 46, and as Michaelis, Storr, Wieseler (p. 452) do) as a Laodicean, but rather as a Colossian, to whom Epaphras had perhaps committed the oversight of the external or internal affairs of the churches there during his absence.

The epistle was entrusted to the care of Tychicus of Asia Minor (iv. 7), whom the apostle sent at the same time with their fellow-countryman Onesimus (iv. 9), whose stay with St. Paul, and contemplated journey to Colosse, were the occasion of the Epistle to Philemon.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

§ 164.

In this letter also St. Paul names Timotheus side by side with himself in the greeting (ver. 1); but he did not dictate the letter to him, as was the case with most of his letters, including that to the Colossians (iv. 18). He wrote it with his own hand (ver. 19), doubtless on account of the purely personal and very delicate subject to which he has to refer. Besides Philemon, Appia, Archippus, and "the Church in Philemon's house" are named in the salutation. But in the remainder of the epistle Philemon only is personally addressed; the others are mentioned only because they belonged to Philemon's household. Appia was doubtless his wife, and Archippus (who also is named in Col. iv. 17) was perhaps his son or his brother.

Philemon was personally known to St. Paul, and was under great obligations to him. By him he had been converted (vers. 13, 19), probably during the apostle's residence at Ephesus. He had received the believers into his own house, and had exerted himself much for the furtherance of the gospel (vers. 1–7). His slave Onesimus was a fugitive,

and had made his way to the imprisoned Paul, whom he had before known as a friend of his master's. He was converted to Christianity through the apostle's teaching (ver. 10). The apostle wished him to return of his own accord to his master in the company of Tychicus, who was about to convey the Epistle to the Colossians (Col. iv. 9), and gave him this letter to his master. Here he begs Philemon to forgive Onesimus: he refers to the change which Onesimus had undergone in his conversion, and how on this account he would be far more serviceable to his master than ever he had been before. At the same time, he gives Philemon to understand how he entertains both the wish and the expectation that he will do for Onesimus much more than he says, that he will treat him no more as his slave, but as his brother in Christ, and give him his freedom. The letter is written throughout with great delicacy of feeling and nicety of expression, and beautifully illustrates the apostle's own exhortation to the Colossians (iv. 6), "Let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt." The letter is throughout penetrated with the purest Christian love.

Colossæ is usually and rightly regarded as the place of Philemon's home. In Col. iv. 9, Onesimus is described as a Colossian (ὅς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν), which makes it very probable not only that he was born there, but that he had lived there, and consequently that Colossæ was the residence of his master. This was the opinion of the ancients; for in the time of Theodoret, Philemon's house was believed to have been at Colossæ. Wieseler, on the contrary, will have it that he was a citizen of Laodicea, on the ground that Archippus, according to Col. iv. 17, lived at Laodicea; and we admit that, as the names are joined together in Philem. 3, they both must have lived at the same place. But as we have already seen (§ 163), Archippus belonged to Colossæ. Wieseler also maintains, as some of the ancients do, that our epistle was τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας, Col. iv. 16.[1] Thiersch also thinks this not improbable. But this is certainly a mistaken notion.

[1] *Progr. de ep. Laodicena*, Gött. 1844, and *Chronol. d. apost. Zeitalters*, pp. 450–455; THIERSCH, *Vers. zur Herstellung*, etc., p. 424.

Even supposing that Philemon lived at Laodicea, we cannot believe that the apostle would refer to a letter so brief and of so private and personal a nature as an epistle written to the Laodiceans, or would direct the Colossians so distinctly to see that it was sent from Laodicea for them to read, without at least telling Philemon that it was his wish the Colossians should see it. The epistle referred to in Col. iv. 16 must certainly have been of a more general and doctrinal character than our Epistle to Philemon.

§ 165.

The circumstances of the apostle when he wrote this epistle (vers. 1, 23, 24) were precisely the same as those described in the Colossians (§ 163). The same companions are named in both epistles, with the single exception of Jesus Justus, who is named only in the Colossians. And the comparison of Col. iv. 7–9 with our epistle leaves no room for doubt that the latter was sent (according to universal belief), at the same time with the former, by Tychicus and Onesimus. But in the personal circumstances in which St. Paul is here represented, some of late have found an argument in favour of Cæsarea instead of Rome as the place of writing (cf. § 161). They think that the persons named as being with the apostle were more likely to have been with him at Cæsarea than in Rome; that it would be to Cæsarea that Onesimus as a fugitive slave would come; and that there it is far more likely news of the Asiatic Churches would reach the apostle, than in Rome, which was separated from Asia Minor by a long sea journey, and was so much more distant and difficult to reach. But considering, as we have already observed, the brisk intercourse which subsisted between Rome as the capital of the empire, and the various provinces, we can easily understand how the fugitive slave would turn his face thither rather than to Cæsarea, if indeed he did not go thither on purpose (as is possible) to find St. Paul. It is, moreover, much easier to suppose that Epaphras came from Colossæ to Rome rather than to Cæsarea; for the purpose of his journey may not have been simply to bring tidings concerning the spread of

Christianity at Colossæ and in the neighbourhood, but, as Neander suggests, to see friends and transact business of his own; and this would harmonize with the circumstance that he did not return with these letters, but still remained with the apostle. We have proof, moreover, that the apostle was in constant communication with the Churches in the East, not only in 2d Timothy, but in the Epistle to the Philippians, from which it appears that the Philippians had heard of the illness of their minister, who was with Paul, and that their anxiety on his account had come to St. Paul's knowledge (Phil. ii. 25 sqq.); and in that epistle St. Paul expresses his intention to send Timotheus to them, in order to hear how they were (ii. 19). As to the other friends with the apostle, there is no preponderating reason for our supposing their being with him at Cæsarea rather than at Rome: indeed, the presumption is decidedly in favour of the latter place. Aristarchus had accompanied Paul to Rome, and so most probably had Timotheus, who was certainly with him when he wrote the Philippian epistle. It is quite natural, therefore, that they should be named in an epistle from Rome, while on the other hand it is very unlikely that they stayed long with the apostle at Cæsarea. Mark, indeed, whose home was in Jerusalem, might have been some time with St. Paul at Cæsarea, but he is just as likely to have been with him at Rome. When St. Paul (during a second imprisonment) wrote 2d Timothy, Mark was with Timotheus in Asia (ch. iv. 11); but Paul directed Timothy to bring him with him to Rome, for he would "be of service" to him,—an expression which is best explained by supposing that Mark had been with Paul in Rome before, and had proved himself serviceable to him, perhaps through his knowledge of Latin, as afterwards he was probably useful to Peter as his interpreter (see § 46). As to Luke, if we adopt the usual belief that he accompanied Paul from Cæsarea to Rome, the mention of him can cause no difficulty. But apart from this, during the second Roman imprisonment we find him with the apostle (2 Tim. iv. 11), and he may have been there from the time of the first Roman imprisonment, earning his living by his

profession; but nothing whatever is known of any residence of his at Cæsarea. Demas is mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 10 as having forsaken the apostle, through "love for this present world," and having gone to Thessalonica. He therefore had been in Rome, and had perhaps lived there since the first imprisonment, but not a word is said about his residing at Cæsarea. Lastly, Jesus Justus (Col. iv. 11) is not mentioned elsewhere, and no argument can be derived from the occurrence of his name. Putting together these particulars, we are fully warranted in abiding by the old and commonly received belief, that both these epistles were written from Rome after St. Paul had been a prisoner there for a considerable time.

§ 166.

For the *genuineness* of both epistles the evidence of antiquity is most conclusive. Marcion gave to both a place in his Canon. The Epistle to the Colossians was regarded as St. Paul's by Irenæus, Clemens Alex., and others, and there are traces of the use of it in Justin Martyr and Theophilus of Antioch.[1] The first of the Fathers, indeed, who names the Epistle to Philemon is Tertullian;[2] but this is accounted for by the narrow range and private nature of the letter. Tertullian expressly says that it was recognised by the Church before the time of Marcion; and with reference to both letters we may fully conclude that they were regarded in the Church as the genuine writings of the Apostle Paul before the middle of the second century.

In Jerome's time (*Proœm. comm. in ep. ad Philem.*) there

[1] JUSTIN, *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 84 (p. 310 B, Paris), τὸν πρωτότοκον τῶν πάντων ποιημάτων; c. 85 (p. 311 B), πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως; c. 100 (p. 326 D), πρωτότοκον μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων. THEOPHIL. *ad Autolycum*, ii. 22 (p. 100 B, Paris), πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως. Cf. Col. i. 15.

[2] *Adv. Marc.* v. 21: *Soli huic epistolæ brevitas sua profuit, ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet. Miror tamen, cum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas et unam ad Titum de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit. Adfectavit, opinor, etiam numerum epistolarum interpolare.*

were some who would not admit the genuineness of the Epistle to Philemon, and who thought it had been rejected by the early writers of the Church (*a plerisque veteribus repudiatum*). This was clearly a mere conjecture, which may have arisen from the circumstance that the epistle was so seldom quoted. They who entertained it took exception to the unimportant contents of the letter, and thought either that the letter was not St. Paul's, or (and this seems to have been their real belief) that he had written it simply as a private letter, and not in his capacity as a divinely inspired apostle commissioned by his Lord. These objections, however, found no supporters; at least the genuineness of the epistle has been universally admitted, for its spirit and contents bear the strongest impress of genuineness, and no candid contemplation of it could find anything unnatural or artificial in it. Nevertheless the epistle is one of those rejected by Baur. He does not deny the beauty and Christian tenderness of its style, but he thinks (*Paulus*, pp. 475–480) it is much too beautiful and too finished for Paul: its design he takes to have been not what it bears on the face of it, but the advocacy of certain profound ideas beneath an historical veil: he regards it as the production—"the embryon"—of a Christian Roman. His main argument against it is, that he thinks the apostle wrote no epistles whatever during his imprisonment. But as regards this epistle he stands alone in his opinion, and probably will do so.

The genuineness of the Colossian epistle was called in question before Baur by Mayerhoff.[1] He considers both the language, and the style, and the doctrine of the epistle un-Pauline, and pronounces it a compilation from the Epistle to the Ephesians, which in his opinion is likewise spurious; and the false teachers whose views are combated were, he thinks, Cerinthians of the post-apostolic age. Following him, Baur of course ranks it among the spurious epistles (*Paulus*, pp. 417–457). He takes the false teachers to have

[1] E. Th. Mayerhoff, *Der Br. an die Col., mit vornehmlicher Berücksichtigung der drei Pastoralbriefe Krit. geprüft*, Berlin 1838.

been post-apostolic Ebionites, and thinks that the doctrinal teaching of the epistle is of a gnostic type, like the Johannine Gospel. Its design, according to him, was to reconcile the Jewish with the Gentile Christians (though the epistle speaks so strongly against the Judaizers). He finds in the mention of Mark and Luke a wish to recommend the two Gospels bearing their names, and to illustrate the harmony of these two with each other, and with Paul. The views of Mayerhoff and Baur are espoused by Schwegler.[1] It would lead us too far from our subject to enter into all the arguments urged by these objectors: they are some of them quite unimportant, and some of them rest upon a complete distortion of facts.[2]

We do not for a moment deny that the Epistle to the Colossians contains much which is peculiar to itself; but its contents, such as they are, do not tell against its coming from the same author as the other epistles of St. Paul: for even those which Baur allows to be genuine contain much that is peculiar and distinctive, *e.g.* the Galatians as compared with the Corinthians, and 2d Corinthians as compared with 1st Corinthians. In addition to the historical testimony of the Church concerning it, we have a striking confirmation of its genuineness in the relation which it bears to the Epistle to Philemon, in the unmistakeable and unartificial harmony of the representations which each gives of the apostle's circumstances. In a word, as Meyer rightly says, the supposed forgery of such an epistle would be far more marvellous and inexplicable than its genuineness. Ewald's view is very unnatural. He thinks that the epistle was written in Paul's name, and with his knowledge and permission, but not by himself, but by Timotheus, who composed it after a brief interview with Paul, and a few hints from him as to its contents.[3]

[1] *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, ii. 325–330, and cf. pp. 289, 290.

[2] See HUTHER, *Comm. üb. d. Br. Pauli an die Col.*, Hamb. 1841, pp. 418 sqq. (against MAYERHOFF), and DE WETTE, § 144, note *b*.

[3] See MEYER, p. 180, and NITZSCH in BLEEK'S *Vorlesungen*, pp. 19, 20.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

§ 167.

There has been in modern times much controversy concerning the genuineness of this epistle, and there certainly is much to make us doubtful as to its origin. The Apostle Paul expressly names himself as the writer (i. 1), and describes himself as at the time a prisoner, and in bonds (iii. 1, iv. 1, vi. 20; cf. § 161); and as Tychicus is named as the conveyer of the letter, and the reason of sending him is expressed in very nearly the same words as in Col. iv. 7, 8, we are led to conclude that the epistle was written from Rome contemporaneously with those to the Colossians and Philemon. This is the generally received opinion. Supposing its genuineness, we find a striking affinity between it and the Epistle to the Colossians, the same topics being dwelt upon in both—with the exception of the polemic in Col. ii. against the false teachers—and in the same order. There is also a striking resemblance in the manner of exposition and in language, save that in the Ephesian epistle the exposition is more general, and the thoughts more fully worked out, than in the Colossian epistle.[1] Taking for granted the genuineness of our epistle, this relationship obliges us to suppose that both letters were written about the same time.[2] Even this would hardly suffice to explain the coincidence, unless we also suppose that the first readers of both letters were essentially in the same position and circumstances, and with the same wants. Now it is just in this particular that the contents of our epistle, viewed altogether apart from the Colossian epistle, present great difficulty. The first readers are here addressed as Ephesians, and this not only in the titles and postscripts of the Greek MSS. and of the old versions, but even in the text of the letter itself, ch. i. 1: *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.* With this destination, the epistle itself, as a letter of St.

[1] A list of corresponding passages will be found in DE WETTE, § 146, *a*.

[2] Which RINCK wrongly denies, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1849, iv. p. 956 sqq.

Paul from Rome, seems in several respects inconsistent.[1] St. Paul had himself lived and laboured in Ephesus, the old metropolis of Ionia, and the chief city of proconsular Asia, for more than two consecutive years, and with considerable success. He must therefore have had many close personal ties and friendships with the members of the Church there, as indeed the account of the farewell he took of the elders on his way from Macedonia to Jerusalem in Acts xx. shows. He sent for the elders of the Church to meet him at Miletus, because had he gone himself to Ephesus he would have found it difficult to get away. The Church there, moreover, consisted of both Jewish and Gentile Christians (see § 145), the former forming no small proportion of the whole. Now our epistle was probably written about three years after the affectionate farewell taken of the Ephesian elders in Acts xx.; and we may be sure the apostle would not be wholly ignorant of the changes which had taken place during this interval—developments for good or evil—nor of the personal relations and circumstances of the several members. We may be sure also that he personally knew, and numbered among his friends, many both of the office-bearers and of the private members. We should accordingly expect, in an epistle addressed by the apostle to this Church, personal references far fuller and more numerous than, *e.g.*, those in the epistle to the Christians at Colossæ. But our epistle presents the very opposite of all this. (*a.*) It contains hardly any personal references—none, unless we thus regard ch. vi. 21, 22, where St. Paul says that he sends Tychicus to them that they might know how matters were with him, and that he might bring them comfort. But there is not a single greeting to any member of the Church from the apostle, nor to the Church from any of the apostle's friends, who (as we know from Colossians and Philemon) were with him when he wrote,—not even from Timotheus and Aristarchus, who both had been a considerable time at Ephesus with St. Paul (Acts xix. 29; 1 Cor. iv. 17), had been his companions on his journey from Macedonia to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 4), and were doubtless

[1] RINCK also disputes this, but on insufficient grounds, pp. 948–958.

present at the meeting with the Ephesian elders at Miletus. How strange it is, that in an Epistle to the Ephesians St. Paul should have made no allusion to these men; while in the letter written contemporaneously to the Colossians, who were certainly far less known to them, he sends greeting to the readers from the one (iv. 10), and names the other with himself in the salutation at the outset (i. 1)! (*b.*) But apart from individuals whom we should certainly have expected to be named one way or other in the epistle, there is not in the letter a single indication that St. Paul personally knew his readers, still less that they had for the most part been converted through him, and that he had ever been intimate with them. He speaks to them as to the Colossians, *i.e.* as to people of whose conversion he had but lately heard, and whom he had never met: see especially ch. i. 15, 16, iii. 2, iv. 21; also i. 13, ii. 1, 19. (*c.*) His language to them shows that he regards them, like the Colossians, as converts from among the Gentiles; indeed, he in some places expressly says this: see ch. ii. 11, 12, 19, iii. 1, 6, iv. 17; cf. v. 8. (*d.*) It is strange that the epistle is addressed not to the *Church* at Ephesus, but (like the Colossian epistle) "to the saints and faithful in Christ;" and there are no references to any regular church organization, not even in the exhortations given to persons in different ages, relations, and situations in life (v. 22–vi. 9),—none, for example, to elders or deacons of the Church, or to the members in their relations and duties towards these officers. All this we could easily understand, if, in the place which the apostle had in his mind, Christianity had but lately gained a footing, and settled church organization had not yet been established; but not certainly in so old a Church as that of Ephesus, whose elders had three years before so affectionately taken leave of the apostle at Miletus.

§ 168.

Difficulties like these, which the epistle undeniably presents if viewed as written from Rome by the Apostle Paul to the Ephesians, certainly seem somewhat to sanction doubts

as to its genuineness. The first who advocated these doubts publicly was Usteri (*Paulin. Lehrbegr.*), who followed the oral teachings of Schleiermacher in his lectures; and in his published *Lectures upon N. T. Introduction* suggests that the epistle might have been written by a companion of St. Paul, and by his direction (pp. 165 sq., 194). De Wette questioned its genuineness still more directly (§ 146), especially in his fourth edition, and in his *Exeget. Handbuch* to the epistles (1843, 2d ed. 1847). So also Schwegler and Baur.[1] Ewald, moreover, seems to regard the epistle as spurious, for he does not treat of it in his *Sendschreiben des Ap. Paulus.*

But this supposition of its spuriousness is rendered very improbable, both by the internal character of the epistle and by its external history. As to the latter, it is certain that the epistle was regarded as a genuine work of the Apostle Paul's from the beginning of the second century downwards. In Ignatius, *Ep. ad Ephes.* c. 12, we read in the shorter Greek recension, *Παύλου συμμύσται . . . ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν Χρ. Ἰ.*; and this very probably refers to our epistle, though the expression *ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ* is rather indefinite. But we cannot attach much importance to this passage; for the longer recension differs from it (*ὃς πάντοτε ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσιν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει ἡμῶν*), and it is wholly wanting in the shortest and oldest Syriac recension. In Polycarp, *ad Philipp.*, there are two unmistakeable references to our epistle: c. 1, *Χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων* (cf. Eph. ii. 8, 9); c. 12, *ut his scripturis dictum est: "Irascimini et nolite peccare, et Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram"* (cf. Eph. iv. 26). Marcion also included this book in his Canon, and we find the clearest proofs of its use as a Pauline epistle by Valentinus and his school: see the passages quoted by Hug, i. pp. 86, 95, 96 (ed. 3), and in the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, vi. 34 (pp. 193, 53 sqq.), where Valentinus quotes our epistle as "the Scripture." And as the orthodox Fathers in various places,

[1] Schwegler in the *Theol. Jahrbb.* 1844, pp. 378–395, reprinted in his *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, ii. 375–392; see *ibid.* pp. 330–338. Baur in his *Paulus*, pp. 417–457.

Irenæus, Clemens Alex., Tertullian, the Fragment in Muratori, together with later theologians, agree in the recognition and use of the epistle as undoubtedly St. Paul's, we may certainly conclude that he was regarded as such in the Church before the rise of those sects. Schwegler's idea, that it was a product of Montanist movements, is quite inadmissible.

We can hardly conceive what motive any later writer could have had in composing such an epistle in St. Paul's name; for no points of doctrine are dwelt upon in it, nor advocated in a manner conformably to the tendencies and needs of a post-apostolic age, such as we might fix upon with any degree of probability as the object of the letter. Least of all does the epistle convey the impression of its having been the work of a servile imitator of the apostle, who compiled it merely for use;[1] for it indicates too little care and artificiality in its form and arrangement. The whole style and treatment of topics in the letter is naturally explained only by supposing it to have sprung from the living spontaneous fulness of a heart thoroughly penetrated with the subjects dwelt upon. [See further, concerning the genuineness, in Bleek's *Vorlesungen ueber d. Br.* p. 186 sqq.]

§ 169.

Taking for granted, therefore, that the epistle is genuine, what we have already said leads us to suppose that St. Paul addressed it to a different circle of readers from those named in the title and in the salutation, ch. i. 1. And external testimony favours this supposition. In the time of Basil the Great, about the middle of the fourth century, the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (i. 1) were wanting in the oldest MSS., and in Tertullian's time they were probably wanting in all the MSS.; so that the prevailing opinion in the Church, that the epistle was written to the Ephesians, rested merely upon the superscriptions in ecclesiastical MSS. and ecclesiastical tradition.

[1] EWALD dates the epistle between A.D. 75 and 80, and thinks that in it we have the first example of an unknown disciple and friend of the apostle writing and circulating an epistle in his name (*Gesch. des V. Isr.*, 2d ed. vol. vii. 243-253, Gött. 1859).

(*a.*) From TERTULLIAN we find that Marcion included the epistle in his Canon, under the title *ad Laodicenos*. See *adv. Marc.* v. 11: *Prætereo hic et de alia epistola, quam nos ad Ephesios præscriptam habemus, hæretici verò ad Laodicenos.* — C. 17: ECCLESIÆ QUIDEM VERITATE *epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodicenos, sed Marcion ei* TITULUM *aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. Nihil autem de* TITULIS *interest, cum ad omnes Apostolus scripserit, dum ad quosdam.* EPIPHANIUS, *Hær.* xlii. pp. 310, 374, 375, is certainly wrong in stating the matter as if Marcion had quoted *μέρη* not only from the Epistle to the Ephesians, but also from *τῆς πρὸς Λαοδικέας λεγομένης*—that he had this epistle besides the other, and made quotations from it. Epiphanius has in his mind the apocryphal letter to the Laodiceans; but Tertullian by no means tells us that Marcion adopted this into his Canon. It is evidently a confusion on the part of Epiphanius; and this is further apparent from the fact that the quotation which Epiphanius cites, p. 373, as a scholion of Marcion's from the Laodicean epistle, really occurs (as Epiphanius himself remarks) in our Ephesian epistle (ch. iv. 5, 6).[1]

(*b.*) It is thus clear that Marcion could not have read the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* in the epistle itself (i. 1): either these words were wanting in his Canon, or, in their stead he must have read *ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ*. Had the latter been the case, Tertullian (from his point of view, and upon his presupposition regarding our epistle) would have blamed him not only for "interpolating the title" (as he does in ch. xvii.), but for falsifying the text of the epistle itself. He would, moreover, have blamed Marcion for simply leaving out the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, had they really been in the MSS. of the Church; for he would have taken for granted (in this case) that Marcion had wilfully expunged those words, and he would not have

[1] *Εἷς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα, εἷς Χριστὸς, εἷς Θεὸς, κ.τ.λ.* EPIPHANIUS adds: *Συναδόντως μὲν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους, ὦ Μαρκίων, καὶ ταύτας τὰς κατά σου μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τῆς λεγομένης πρὸς Λαοδικέας συνήγαγες κατά σου μαρτυρίας.*

allowed such a tampering with the text of Holy Scripture to pass without censure. Seeing, therefore, that he does not thus censure Marcion, but expressly mentions his interpolating the title, and the title only, we may conclude that ἐν Ἐφέσῳ was not in the MS. which Tertullian had, and that it was not in the MSS. of the Church, as far as Tertullian knew. Some[1] will not admit the force of this argument and inference; but it is certainly a fair one, and is supported by other considerations: namely,—

(*c.*) Basil the Great (*ob.* 379), *contra Eunom.* ii. 19, says that, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, Paul designates his readers—as those who by knowledge were truly united with the ὄν or the ὤν (τῷ ὄντι)—with the peculiar expression ὄντας (= truly existing) in the words: τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. This exposition or comment clearly implies that the text ran as Basil gives it; so that, after τοῖς οὖσι, neither ἐν Ἐφέσῳ nor any like words followed: otherwise a similar comment or exposition might be given, *e.g.*, to Phil. i. 1. From the words which follow in Basil, it is clear that in his time ἐν Ἐφέσῳ occurred in several MSS., but not in all, not in the oldest; for he adds: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν παραδεδώκασι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὑρήκαμεν. Here he unmistakeably describes the shorter reading, without ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, as the older, and the general one in earlier times; and the reading with ἐν Ἐφέσῳ as one which became general subsequently.

(*d.*) JEROME (*Comment. in loc.*) gives two explanations: the one identical with that of Basil, that they are called *ab eo qui est* (Ex. iii. 14), "*qui sunt*"—"those who really are, who really live;" and the other, those *qui Ephesi sunt sancti et fideles.* Jerome seems to have had the ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the MSS. before him, though this is not clear from his words; but the first explanation, which, as he knew, many adopted,—very

[1] *e.g.* HARLESS, *Comm. üb. den Brief P. an die Eph.*, Erl. 1834, 2d ed., Stuttg. 1858; WIGGERS, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1841, p. 428; LÜNEMANN, *De epistolæ, quam Paulus ad Ephes. dedisse perhibetur, authentia, primis lectoribus, argumento summo et consilio*, Gött. 1842, p. 37; DE WETTE, § 145, *c*, note *a*; and others.

probably he had in his mind Origen, in the commentary of his which he used,[1]—could not have come into vogue, nor have been generally adopted, save without the ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

(*e.*) Among the Greek MSS. which have come down to us, the old Codex Vaticanus (B) has not the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the text, but in the margin only, and according to Tischendorf (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1847, i. 133) and Muralt, by another and a later hand; but had they been written by the original hand, as Hug thinks (*de Antiquitate Cod. Vat.*, Freiburg 1809, 4to), it would still follow that the older codex, which the writer of the Codex Vat. was copying, had not these words, but that the copyist found them in another MS., and inserted them in the margin. [In the Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ) also they are added only in the margin, and by a later hand.] In another MS. (No. 67, at Vienna, belonging to the eleventh or twelfth century), the words which were originally in the text have been expunged by another hand. No great weight could be attached to the absence of the words in but one comparatively late MS.; for in Codex G (Börner, ninth or tenth century) of the Pauline epistles, the words ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Rom. i. 7, 15, are wanting in the Greek and Latin text: it may here have been left out in order, in the ecclesiastical use of the epistle, to keep in the background its special reference to a particular Church. But this case of a codex belonging to the middle age cannot be regarded as at all parallel with the facts which the history of our epistle presents, even in the first centuries, and in various districts.

Now we cannot easily see how those words, if they really did originally belong to the text, could have so generally been left out in the course of the second century. Had they been left out, according to any custom of omitting such words, in order to keep in the background the primary and individual destination of the Pauline epistles in MSS. intended for general circulation, we should certainly have had similar instances in the MSS. of other of St. Paul's epistles; but of this we have no trace. If, on the contrary, the words were originally wanting, we can easily see how any one might feel

[1 Cf. ORIGEN, *Catenæ* 102, in TISCHENDORF'S *N. T.*, ed. 7, *in loc.*]

himself obliged to interpolate them, because after the τοῖς οὖσιν something of the kind seems wanted. If, again, the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ were in the text originally, we cannot understand how there could arise such conflicting views concerning the destination of the epistle—how, besides the fact that it was written to the Ephesians, it could be taken as written to the believers in Laodicea.

This opinion we find in Marcion; and Tertullian calls the title which Marcion prefixes to the epistle an interpolation on Marcion's part. Whatever alterations Marcion made in the N. T. text, he made them upon doctrinal grounds; but here there is nothing discoverable which could with any probability be urged as a doctrinal reason, or any kind of reason, inducing him to give in the title Laodicea as the destination of the epistle, when the epistle itself expressly named Ephesus. We can explain this fact in Marcion's Canon only upon the supposition (1) that Marcion did not know of the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the text of the epistle; and (2) that in his time the opinion that it was written to Ephesus was, to say the least, not universal; that he found the opinion in vogue (perhaps in his own home in Pontus) that it was written for the Laodiceans; and that this opinion was probably stated in the superscriptions of the MSS. circulating in that district.

§ 170.

Laodicea would certainly be a more appropriate destination for the epistle than Ephesus, if we are to judge by its contents; for, as we have already remarked, Laodicea was in the same position in reference to Christianity as Colossæ: the new religion had but a short time before been introduced, —mainly, perhaps, through the instrumentality of Epaphras (Col. iv. 13); and the believers there were for the most part unknown personally to the Apostle Paul (Col. ii. 1), and were almost exclusively Gentile Christians. We therefore might without hesitation conclude that our epistle is the very one referred to in Col. iv. 16, which the Colossians are directed to get from Laodicea, and to read. Still we are not

warranted in regarding our epistle as intended originally for the Laodiceans alone.[1] Upon such a supposition we could not easily explain (*a*) how it came to pass that the Church so generally regarded it as addressed to the Ephesians; and (*b*) how St. Paul could have dictated the salutation (ch. i. 1), as in the text it seems originally to have run: *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χρ. Ἰ.* These words, taken by themselves, can be explained only in a very unnatural manner;[2] and it is very improbable that St. Paul ever meant them to be so taken. He clearly meant the *τοῖς οὖσιν* here as in Rom. i. 7 (*πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, κ.τ.λ.*), and in 2 Cor. i. 1, Phil. i. 1; and the only reasonable ground for his writing the words thus imperfectly was, that when writing he either could not or would not exactly and locally name the range of readers to whom the epistle should be sent. Most probably St. Paul left a blank space after *τοῖς οὖσιν*, because he intended the letter for several Churches, to whom Tychicus was to convey it, and all of whom the apostle, when writing, could not enumerate.

The question therefore arises, Whether and how far we are in a position to decide what circle of readers the apostle had in his mind? It is clear from the entire epistle that St. Paul did not mean it as a general encyclical to the Christians of various countries, nor indeed to newly converted Gentile Christians generally,—in this case we should have expected the special class of readers to have been described in the salutation at the outset,—but for some district in which he had not himself preached, wherein the gospel had been

[1] This is the opinion of MILL, WETSTEIN, PALEY, HOLZHAUSEN (*der Br. des Ap. P. an die Ephes. übers. u. erl.*, Hanover 1833).

[2] *e.g.* SCHNECKENBURGER (*Beitr.* p. 133), "To the saints, who are so in very deed;" CREDNER, "To the saints, who are also truly faithful;" MATTHIES (*Erkl. des Br. P. an die Eph.*, Greifsw. 1834), "To those who collectively are holy and faithful." [WEISS, in HERZOG'S *Real-Encykl. Supplementb.* i. 481, takes the words also as complete without *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, "To the saints who also are believers in Christ." Still he regards the letter not as general or catholic, but as encyclical. The apostle had given to Tychicus directions for what Churches the epistle was intended.]

lately received by Gentile hearers; and taking for granted such a localizing of the letter, we can at once understand what the apostle says, ch. vi. 21, 22, about his sending Tychicus. Cf. also ch. i. 15, 16, ii. 11. That view, however, is untenable, which is taken by many expositors, who regard the letter as intended for several Churches, and who reckon Ephesus as the chief, or at least one of the places included.[1] From what we have already said (§ 167), we cannot think that St. Paul had this Church in his mind, even in connection with others,—a Church of such long standing, composed of Jewish and Gentile Christians, in which he himself had laboured so long, and among whose members he had so many personal friends. Various attempts to explain and reconcile these facts have been made, but they are either inadequate or quite unnatural. For instance, it is very improbable—as so many, *e.g.* Grotius, think—that the epistle was intended both for the Church at Ephesus and that at Laodicea. These two Churches were so different in their origin, their condition, and their relation to St. Paul, that we cannot believe he could have written a letter to them both together at the very time that he was writing a distinct and separate epistle to the Colossians, who were far more akin to the Laodiceans than were the Ephesians.

We are justified, however, in supposing that St. Paul intended this epistle for the Laodiceans, either primarily or as one of the Churches addressed. The contents are appropriate to the believers there, and the title of the letter in Marcion's Canon, taken in connection with Col. iv. 16, confirms this view. And if so, St. Paul must have had in his mind the Christians generally in that district, in towns not far distant from Laodicea, and where the circumstances of the believers were similar,—the gospel having been introduced but a short time before, and having made way chiefly among Gentiles, and the believers being personally unknown to him; *i.e.* Hierapolis and some other centres in the south-west of

[1] Thus *e.g.* GROTIUS, HAMMOND, FLATT, BÖHMER (*Isag. in ep. ad Col.*, Berl. 1829), SCHOTT, GUERICKE, ANGER (*Ueber den Laodicener-Brief*, Leipz. 1843), HARLESS, WIGGERS, and others.

Phrygia. The character of the epistle is naturally explained only upon such a supposition as this. The following may be taken as a fair account of the matter:—In addition to the Epistle to the Colossians, St. Paul gave Tychicus this letter for the other places in the district where Christianity had lately gained a footing, but where he was even less known than at Colossæ. He gave it to him perhaps unsealed, and told him to communicate its contents either in a copy or by reading it, not only to the Laodiceans, but to the believers in some other places in the district, whether in town or country.

§ 171.

It seems, however, that the supposition thus developed presents difficulties for which thus far no adequate solution has been offered. The following points may be named as involving the chief objections to the view:—

(*a.*) From the end of the second century, and perhaps earlier, the idea generally prevailed that our epistle was written to the Church at Ephesus. Supposing our view to be correct, it is impossible to say with certainty how this came to pass. The following may be given by way of conjecture:—Tychicus made the journey from Rome by way of his own country, proconsular Asia, and *i.e.* by way of Ephesus, which was the best way. Here he gave our epistle, which was delivered to him open, to the elders or the members of the Ephesian Church to read; and they made a copy of it, on account of the interest they felt in it apart from its immediate and direct destination as intended for Gentile Christians in a certain locality, and because of the universal application of its contents, which would tend to their instruction and edification. As the epistle had originally no superscription, naming the readers for whom it was written, it would come to pass in process of time that the Ephesians would regard it as written for them, and would prefix the title πρὸς Ἐφεσίους; and they would be the more ready to do this, because among St. Paul's epistles there was not one addressed to their Church, and there would be a natural inclination to claim for their Church

an apostolic letter. A pretext or sanction for this might be found in 2 Tim. iv. 12, where St. Paul says that he sent Tychicus to Ephesus, though this certainly refers to a later date than the despatch of our epistle. From Ephesus, in virtue of its position and its intercourse with other Churches beyond Asia Minor, our epistle would be circulated far and wide in Europe, Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine: and thus the title which was given it in Ephesus would be as widely spread; while in the east of Asia Minor, in Pontus, where it would be received from the district for which it was originally intended, it would be circulated with a title answering to this district, such as we find in Marcion's Canon. Still in the orthodox Church the idea that it was written to Ephesus would soon become general, perhaps by the middle of the second century. It would accordingly be only natural to fill up the blank which St. Paul had left in i. 1, by inserting the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the MSS. generally, conformably with this idea, and with the title which had been prefixed. This, however, was not done until after Tertullian's time; and it did not become so general as we now find it in the MSS. of the Greek text, and the ancient versions, until about the fifth century.

(*b.*) It seems strange and perplexing that St. Paul should send greetings to the brethren at Laodicea, and in particular to "Nymphas, and the Church in his house," in the Colossian epistle despatched at the same time (Col. iv. 15). But this difficulty remains apart from our epistle, if we take v. 16, τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας, in its natural sense, as referring to an epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans. The most probable explanation seems to me to be this:—In writing the Epistle to the Colossians, Paul had not as yet decided to entrust to Tychicus another epistle for the Christians in Laodicea and the neighbourhood. After finishing that epistle, however, something having occurred to delay the departure of Tychicus, he determined upon this, and he therefore inserted the words in Col. iv. 16*b*, καὶ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναγνῶτε, as a sort of postscript or addition. It would follow that the Colossian epistle was written first of the two; and

apart from the explanation I have proposed, this is, in my judgment, by far the more probable order. Many, indeed, think that the Ephesian epistle was written first; *e.g.* Eichhorn, Böhmer, Credner, Schneckenburger (De Wette's statement, § 147, note *a*, as to his view is incorrect), Matthies, Reuss, Guericke, Mayerhoff. In this case, St. Paul must in the Colossian epistle have more briefly touched upon the topics fully dwelt upon in our epistle. For the priority of the Colossian epistle are Schleiermacher, Harless, Neander, Wiggers, Meyer, De Wette, [Davidson, Weiss, Alford, Conybeare and Howson]; and this is, on the whole, the more probable opinion. If St. Paul wrote the Ephesian epistle after that to the Colossians, we can easily understand his omission in it of the polemic against Judaizing teachers; but if Ephesians were written first, we should have expected some reference in it to these false teachers: if they were active at Colossæ, St. Paul must have been anxious lest they should gain a footing in neighbouring places. If the Epistle to the Colossians was first, he would not think it necessary to repeat the warnings and instructions so fully given in it, especially as he directed that epistle to be sent for perusal to the Laodiceans. We may well suppose that St. Paul, when he had finished the Colossian epistle, in writing our epistle immediately afterwards for a wider circle of readers, but in the same district, would dwell upon the same topics, more fully unfolding and applying them, and adding new arguments and thoughts, as *e.g.* in the beautiful paragraph Eph. v. 22–33, where the duties of husbands and wives towards each other are urged by an allusion to the relation between Christ and the Church. Hence, too, it is that our epistle is more diffuse, and the logical connection of its several parts less close than in the Colossian epistle, but by no means in such a degree as to lead us to question its genuineness. I believe that if the epistle were the forged work of a later writer, the phenomena which we have explained, and which its external history presents, would be incomprehensible. Judging from the internal character of the letter, Schleiermacher's opinion is, I think, very improbable, that St. Paul

left it to Tychicus or some other friend to compile and complete according to the hints he gave.

§ 172.

It remains for us to consider the relation in which these three epistles—Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians—stand to the Philippian epistle, with reference to *the time of writing*. We may regard it as certain, (*a*) that all four epistles were written during the Roman imprisonment (Acts xxviii.); (*b*) that none of them were written in the early months of that imprisonment, but after the lapse of a considerable time; and (*c*) that Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians were despatched at one and the same time, but Philippians at a different time. We cannot, however, decide whether Philippians was sent before or after the other three: one supposition is as probable as the other. The usual opinion is, that Philippians was written after the others;[1] but this is by no means certain. It is clear from our investigations that none of the four were written in the early part of St. Paul's imprisonment, for they all imply that it had lasted a considerable time. But, according to Luke, it lasted at least two years; and supposing that none of them were written during the first year, there remains an entire year, which still leaves room for a considerable interval between them; and the hints which the epistles contain concerning the circumstances of the apostle, lead us to the conclusion that a considerable interval did elapse. It is very probable that when St. Paul wrote the three, Epaphroditus the messenger from Philippi was not with him; if he were, considering how many persons are named in Colossians and Philemon, he would not have been omitted. But we cannot with certainty determine whether Epaphroditus had already left, or had not yet arrived. The circumstance, moreover, noticed by De Wette,

[1] So De Wette, § 149, *b*; Wieseler, p. 429 sqq.; Ewald, [Conybeare and Howson, Davidson, Alford]. Marcion apparently took this view, judging from the order in which the epistles stood in his Canon—viz.: 7. Ephesians (Laodic.); 8. Colossians; 9. Philemon; 10. Philippians (Epiphanius, *Hær.* xlii. 9).

that in the Philippians no greeting is sent from Luke, while he is named in Col. iv. 14, is by no means decisive for the later composition of the Philippians. For (*a*) it is by no means certain (according to our investigations upon the Acts of the Apostles, § 124, 125) that Luke came with Paul from Cæsarea to Rome, and we know not when he did come thither: for aught we know, it may have been only towards the end of St. Paul's imprisonment; and it is just as possible that he had not yet arrived when Philippians was written, as that he had gone away again. But (*b*) we cannot be certain (as Wieseler, p. 426, allows) that he was not with St. Paul when Philippians was written. In Phil. iv. St Paul does not individually name any one of his companions who sends greetings, but simply says in general terms (iv. 21, 22), *ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί· ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐκ Καίσαρος οἰκίας*; and the former expression may include Luke with many others. Nor have we, as Wieseler and others imagine, any decisive proof on the point in the manner in which St. Paul speaks of his imprisonment. In the Philippians he hopes he may shortly be liberated, though he intimates the possibility of his being martyred. With like confidence he seems in Philem. 22 to expect his liberation, for he directs Philemon to prepare him a lodging, and hopes through their prayers to be restored to them. Even were there a much greater difference than there is between these epistles, we could not with any certainty decide the question, because we do not know enough of the vicissitudes of the apostle's state and position during that long imprisonment; and we may well believe that on various occasions during it he entertained alternately the hope of being liberated, and the fear of its termination in martyrdom.

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§ 173.

Hitherto we have considered those epistles of St. Paul which were written during that portion of the apostle's life recorded in the book of the Acts, *i.e.* down to the end of the

second year of his imprisonment in Rome. These letters are *ten* in number: they were received by the early orthodox Church, and by Marcion; and their genuineness, after an unbiassed and thorough investigation, must be regarded as established. But besides these, there are among the New Testament books *three* letters, called *the Pastoral Epistles*, addressed to Timothy and Titus, which claim to have been written by St. Paul. Marcion did not give them a place in his Canon, and we know not on what grounds he excluded them; but the orthodox Churches, from the end of the second century, have universally regarded them as genuine Pauline epistles, and in the works of writers previous to that date we find traces of their use more or less clear.[1] It is only in modern times that their genuineness has been called in question—either that of all three, or more particularly that of one of them, viz. 1st Timothy. Schleiermacher[2] was among the first who attacked the ordinary view regarding 1st Timothy, and he endeavoured to prove that it was a compilation by a later writer from the two other Pastoral Epistles. Among the scholars who endeavoured to vindicate its genuineness, in opposition to his view, may be named especially H. Planck, *Bemerkk. über den* 1 *Paul. Br. an d. Timoth. in Bez. auf.* "*d. krit. Sendschreiben*," etc., Göttingen 1808. Next came Eichhorn, who, in his *Einleitung in N. T.* iii. (1812), described all three epistles as forged by the same writer. De Wette, in the early editions of his *N. T.*

[1] [*e.g.* CLEMENS ROMANUS, *Ep.* i. 29: Προσέλθωμεν αὐτῷ ἐν ὁσιότητι ψυχῆς, ἁγνὰς καὶ ἀμιάντους χεῖρας αἴροντες πρὸς αὐτόν (1 Tim. ii. 8). POLYCARP, *ad Phil.* 4: Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία. Εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι ἔχομεν, κ.τ.λ. (1 Tim. vi. 7, 10). THEOPHILUS, *ad Autolycum*, iii. 14 (p. 126, Paris): Ἔτι μὲν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις καὶ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κελεύει ἡμᾶς ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὅπως ἥρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2; Tit. iii. 1). *Ibid.* ii. 16 (p. 95): διὰ ὕδατος καὶ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας (Tit. iii. 5). Express references to texts in these epistles as Pauline occur in IRENÆUS, CLEMENS AL., TERTULLIAN, and others.]

[2] *Ueber den sog. ersten Br. des Paulus an den Tim. Ein krit. Sendschreiben an Gass.*, Berlin 1807; *Werken z. Theol.* vol. ii. pp. 221–320, Berlin 1836.

Einleitung, seemed inclined to adopt this view, but more decidedly with regard to 1st Timothy than to the other two; in his *Exeget. Handbuch*, and in his *Einleitung*, ed. 5, he has declared his belief in the spuriousness of all three. To this conclusion many other scholars have come, since the time of Eichhorn, with more or less certitude. We must here again in particular name Baur, *Die sog. Pastoralbriefe des Ap. Paulus aufs neue krit. untersucht*, Stuttgard and Tüb. 1835, where he endeavours to prove that the Pastoral Epistles were written by a later writer in refutation of gnostic tendencies and doctrines, and the Marcionites in particular: see his *Paulus*, 492–499. Also Schwegler, ii. 138–153, who regards them as directed against the Gnostics, especially the Valentinians and Marcionites, and as written from a standing-point which blended the Pauline and the Petrine teaching. Credner, in his *Einleitung*, has an ingenious hypothesis as to the origin of these epistles. He regards the Epistle to Titus as genuine, with the exception of ch. i. 1–4; he thinks that our 2d Timothy is made up of two genuine Pauline letters to Timothy, and that the same *falsarius* composed our 1st Timothy himself. But in his later work, *Das N. T. nach Zweck, Ursprung und Inhalt*, Part. ii. (Giessen 1843), pp. 96, 97, he declares his belief in the spuriousness of all three epistles. Ewald holds that all three are spurious. Neander is doubtful as to 1st Timothy; so also are Löffler (*Kleine Schriften*, ii. 216 sqq.), Usteri (*Paulin. Lehrbegr.*), Lücke (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1834, iv. p. 764). There have not been wanting others, however, who endeavour to vindicate the genuineness of these epistles. Thus, in reply to Eichhorn and Schleiermacher: Bertholdt, Hug, Guericke, Heydenreich (*Die Pastoralbr. Pauli erläutert*, 2 vols. 1826–28), G. Böhl (*Ueber die Zeit der Abfass. u. d. Paulin. Charakter d. Briefe an Tim. u. Tit.*, Berlin 1829), Ad. Curtius (*De tempore quo prior Pauli ad Tim. ep. exarata sit*, Berlin 1828), Hemsen, Kling (in his edition of *Flatt's Vorless. ueber diese Briefe*, Tüb. 1831). In reply to Baur: M. Baumgarten (*Die Æchtheit d. Pastoralbr.*, Berlin 1837), Matthies (*Erklärung der Pastoralbr.*, Greifsw. 1840), Böttger, and others. So

also Wieseler, Reuss, [Otto (*Die geschichtl. Verhältnisse der Pastoralbr. aufs Neue unters.*, Leipzig 1860)]. For other works for and against the genuineness, see De Wette, § 155, *a.*

§ 174.

The following are the main points which awaken suspicion as to the genuineness of these epistles:—

a. Certain peculiarities of language which all three have in common, but which do not occur in the other epistles of St. Paul. There is quite a series of expressions which repeatedly occur, but which seldom or never are met with in the Pauline letters generally, and do not therefore seem to have been familiar to the apostle.

b. These expressions represent, in part, certain peculiar ideas which do not occur, at least with such definiteness, in the other Pauline epistles,—thoughts chiefly bearing upon the pure and saving doctrines of the gospel, as contrasted with perverted and false teachings.[1]

c. Arguments and exhortations against certain teachers of error, who here appear in a somewhat different guise from those with whom the apostle has to do in his other letters; so that it is supposed that they could hardly have lived during St. Paul's life, or in the apostolic age.

d. It is believed—and this is Baur's opinion—that a more complete and elaborate form of church organization and government is implied in these epistles than was to be found in the Pauline period, and that an importance is attached to these things by the writer which we could not expect from St. Paul.

e. The historical relations set forth in these epistles can hardly be harmonized with the facts of the apostle's life, so far as these facts are known to us by the Acts of the Apostles and the other epistles. In order to obviate this last difficulty, many put the composition of these letters at a time in the apostle's life subsequent to that referred to in his other epistles and the Acts, *i.e.* after his liberation from that

[1] See upon *a*, *b*, *c*, De Wette, § 155, *a*, note *c*; § 155, *c*; and § 155, *d*, note *a*. Also Eichhorn, iii. 399 sqq.; Schott, p. 320 sqq.

Roman imprisonment with the mention of which the history in the book of the Acts ends.[1] Upon this supposition also, the other peculiarities pertaining to these epistles would best be explained. But as we shall presently see, in reference to the time of composition, the relation of 1st Timothy to the other two is very different from that of 2d Timothy to Titus, and the character of the polemic in 1st Timothy is different from that of these. Other defenders of the genuineness have thought they could explain the objections upon the supposition that they were written by St. Paul within the period of his life which is known, not thinking themselves justified in supposing that St. Paul was liberated from his first Roman imprisonment, and was afterwards taken prisoner and brought back to Rome again.[2] Abiding by this view, it is still more difficult naturally and satisfactorily to explain the phenomena which the epistles present. Hence, too, the supposition of a second Roman imprisonment is rejected as untenable by those who deny the genuineness of our epistles.[3] Before, therefore, more closely examining the epistles themselves, it will be well for us to consider whether there are any adequate arguments—apart from these epistles—for or against a second Roman imprisonment.

[1] So MILL, PEARSON, and others; and of modern scholars, HEYDENREICH, BÖHL, FEILMOSER, WURM (*Tüb. Zeitschr. f. Theol.* 1833, i. p. 82 sqq.), NEANDER, GUERICKE, CONYBEARE and HOWSON (vol. ii. 540: "Unless we are prepared to dispute the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles, we must admit not only that St. Paul was liberated from his Roman imprisonment, but also that he continued his apostolic labours for at least some years afterwards . . . We must acknowledge (unless we deny the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles) that after St. Paul's Roman imprisonment he was travelling at liberty in Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3), Crete (Tit. i. 5), Macedonia (1 Tim. i. 3), Miletus (2 Tim. iv. 20), and Nicopolis (Tit. iii. 12), and that he was afterwards a second time in prison at Rome (2 Tim. i. 16, 17)").

[2] So *e.g.* HEMSEN, MATTHIES, WIESELER, REUSS, [OTTO; DAVIDSON, *Introduction to the N. T.*, 1851, vol. ii. 98, vol. iii. 60].

[3] So BAUR, DE WETTE (§ 122); also SCHENKEL (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1841, pp. 53–87). [CREDNER, on the contrary (in his *Gesch. des. N. T. Kanon*, p. 55 sqq.), believes in a second Roman imprisonment.]

§ 175.

Church tradition is unanimous in representing that St. Paul died as a martyr in Rome under Nero, and this may be regarded as a settled and established fact. Clemens Romanus[1] unmistakeably refers to martyrdom as suffered by the apostle. He says that "Paul, after he had taught righteousness to the whole world, and had come to the boundary of the West, and witnessed before the *ἡγουμένων*, departed out of the world, and went his way to the holy place, as the greatest example of endurance." Usually *μαρτυρήσας* here, and as employed by the Fathers, is supposed to denote a martyr's death; but Wieseler (p. 528) and Reuss take it to mean simply a bold and open confession or witness which Paul made for the gospel before the *ἡγουμένοις*. This is, I think, correct, and the true meaning of the word in the passage before us. But the connection as clearly shows that Clemens means the confession of a witness which he sealed with his blood, just as he had immediately before said of Peter; and the preceding words in reference to Paul, *ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ὑπέσχεν*, and *τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν*, are clearly meant of martyrdom. Clement evidently regards the facts of the case as well known to his readers, and he therefore does not add anything concerning the time, place, and circumstances of the apostle's death. The same holds true of the passage in Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* xii., *πάροδός ἐστε τῶν εἰς Θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων Παύλου συμμύσται, τοῦ ἡγιασμένου, τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου, κ.τ.λ.*, which according to the connection clearly refers to a violent death as suffered by the apostle. This passage, however, is of little weight,

[1] *Ad Cor.* c. v.: [Ὁ Πέτρ]ος διὰ ζῆλον ἄδικον οὐχ [ἕνα οὐ] δὲ δύο, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ὑπ[ήνεγκεν] πόνους, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρ[ήσας] ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλ[όμενον] τόπον τῆς δόξης. Διὰ ζῆλον [καὶ ὁ] Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ὑ[πέσχ]εν, ἑπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, φ[υγα]δευθείς, λιθασθείς, κήρυξ γ[ενό]μενος ἐν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν [τῇ] δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων; οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός. The text, with the lacunæ of the codex supplied in brackets, is from JACOBSON, *Patres Apostolici*, Oxford 1838.—B.

on account of the uncertainty of the date when it was written, and it does not occur in the Syriac recension. The more express witnesses for a martyrdom at Rome are: (*a*) Dionysius of Corinth (*circ.* 170 A.D.), who, in a letter to the Roman Church (in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25), says that Peter and Paul both taught in Italy at the same time, and simultaneously ἐμαρτύρησαν, *i.e.*, as is here obviously meant, died as martyrs; (*b*) Caius, a presbyter of Rome, who (according to Eusebius, *ib.*), in a work against the Montanist Proclus, especially refers to the tombs of the two apostles in Rome as their τρόπαια. (*c*) Tertullian (*Scorpiace*, c. xv.; *Præscript.* xxxvi.) expressly names Rome as the place where Paul suffered. (*d*) Eusebius himself says (*ibid.*) that the tombs of Paul and Peter were still to be seen in Rome, with the names of the two apostles upon them; and that the tradition was, that Paul had been beheaded under Nero, and Peter crucified. This is the witness of all later writers. St. Paul's martyrdom in Rome may certainly be looked upon as a sufficiently attested historical fact, which can hardly be questioned. Baur, indeed, seems to regard it as a story not very generally believed, but he does not venture to pronounce it unhistorical: he contents himself with relating the various circumstances which may be gathered from the different accounts.

§ 176.

But it is much disputed whether St. Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome, in the end of that imprisonment which is spoken of in Acts xxviii., or in a *subsequent imprisonment, and after another period of freedom.* My opinion is, that, apart altogether from the Pastoral Epistles, there are many historical hints which render this last opinion exceedingly probable. The first writer, indeed, who expressly says that St. Paul was liberated from his Roman imprisonment, and suffered martyrdom when a second time in that city, is Eusebius, *H. E.* ii. 22; and it is clear from the manner in which he writes, that he knew nothing either as to the way in which St. Paul obtained his freedom, nor as to his subsequent labours. He merely states in general: "It is currently

reported that, after defending himself successfully, Paul again went forth to proclaim the gospel, and afterwards[1] *δεύτερον ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν τελειωθῆναι μαρτυρίῳ*;" and then quotes 2 Tim. iv. 16 to prove that the apostle could not have suffered at the end of the first imprisonment. It is tolerably plain that Eusebius knew of no other writer who expressly said anything about St. Paul's liberation from his first imprisonment, or clearly distinguished between two distinct Roman imprisonments. We may accordingly take it for granted, that when other and subsequent writers speak of the matter so decidedly (as *e.g.* Jerome, *de vir. illustr.* c. v.), they really knew no more, and had no more historical evidence, than Eusebius, so that they are not of any special weight as witnesses.

The historical testimony, therefore, in support of the apostle's second Roman imprisonment is very weak indeed. But, on the other hand, when we remember how little clear and trustworthy information we possess as to the latter part of the apostolic age, and indeed of the apostolic age and the history of the apostles generally, beyond what the book of the Acts affords, and how little even Eusebius knew, we must allow that the complete silence of early tradition, and writers of the first centuries, is not in itself sufficient to invalidate the historic truth of events which other indications and evidence oblige us to presuppose. This I believe to be the case here. Later writers mention Spain as one of the countries in which St. Paul laboured after his liberation from the first Roman imprisonment. As Eusebius does not seem to have known anything of this, it may perhaps rest only upon the statement of the apostle himself, Rom. xv. 24, 28, where he expresses his intention to go from Rome into Spain. But we have a testimony apparently very old, and certainly older than Eusebius, in the Fragment in Muratori (about the end of the second, or at latest the beginning of the third century; see § 242), where, in a passage otherwise much corrupted, we read: *profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam*

[1] *Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος διακονίαν λόγος ἔχει στείλασθαι τὸν ἀπόστολον, δεύτερον δ' ἐπιβάντα, κ.τ.λ.*

proficiscentis. It is, to say the least, very probable that the writer of this reference, living in Rome, or somewhere in Italy, knew something of the apostle's journey into Spain, and that he supposes the fact to be known in his own neighbourhood. Still more weighty is the passage already quoted from Clement of Rome, where it is said that St. Paul suffered in Rome after he had gone ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως. This passage has given much trouble to those who deny St. Paul's liberation from the first Roman imprisonment. Wieseler for ἐπί would read ὑπό, and thinks that this was the reading of the only codex which contains the Epistle of Clemens Romanus — viz. of the Cod. Alex. of the N. T., where, according to the first printed edition (by Junius), the true reading is doubtful. He would accordingly translate the words, "after he had appeared before the highest power of the West." But later editors of the epistle, who have again examined the codex, read (without any comment) ἐπί (not only Wotton, Cambridge 1718, but also Jacobson, Oxford 1838); so that we must regard it as certain that this is the true reading of the codex.[1] But even if this were not the case, there could be no hesitation about supplying ἐπί instead of ὑπό, and Wieseler's rendering of the words based upon it is in the highest degree unnatural. All others are agreed that τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως must be taken in a local sense. Some, however, suppose that Clement refers simply to Rome itself, or to Italy. So De Wette, Schenkel, Baur, Reuss, and others. Baur and Schenkel think that the expression is used subjectively with reference to St. Paul, for Rome as the limit of his labours in the West, so that the genitive is to be taken as explicative—"he came to the goal or limit appointed to his labours in the West," *i.e.* to Rome:[2]

[1] [While in JUNIUS the letters αι επι are printed in red, JACOBSON (in his 4th edition, 1863), i. p. 28, says: *quæ tamen in MSto adhuc exhibentur.* Dr. PETERSEN has of late again examined the Codex Alex. in the British Museum, and informs us "KAIEΠΙΤΟΤΕΡΜΑ is beyond a doubt, and without *lacunæ*, the reading here." Cf. LAURENT, in the *Zeitschr. f. Luther. Theol.* 1863, p. 416 sqq.]

[2] [So also OTTO, who takes τὸ τέρμα to denote the goal of a racecourse: "the goal appointed for the apostle's course in the West."]

and thus Baur thinks that his apostolic life and labours are likened to the course of the sun; and that Rome, as the extreme point in the West to which he came, is described as the place of "his going down." But this subjective application of the expression is, if we look at the simple words themselves, *ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως* (not even *τῆς δύσεως αὐτοῦ*) *ἐλθών*, quite unnatural. Others, as *e.g.* De Wette, think that the relative expression *τέρμα* is rhetorically applied to Rome as the most westerly point of those labours of the apostle which began far east in Jerusalem. But Clement clearly distinguishes between *δύσις*, which is the simpler antithesis to *ἀνατολή* and *τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*, and we must keep in mind the fact that Clement lived and wrote in Rome. A writer living in the far east might perhaps speak thus of Rome or of Italy; but certainly one living in Rome—a Roman bishop—could make use of such an expression only with reference to a point lying far west of Rome: and thus from this very passage we are led necessarily to think of Spain. We may therefore regard it as certain that St. Paul really did labour in the parts referred to; for Clemens Romanus, who most probably is named in Phil. iv. 3 as the apostle's fellow-labourer, and who was a Roman bishop, in an epistle, the genuineness of which is beyond question — an epistle which was not (as De Wette and Schenkel think) written before the destruction of Jerusalem, but certainly in the course of the first century—mentions it as something known to his readers. This, in my opinion, is a witness sufficiently trustworthy for the historical truth of the fact in question,—a testimony which is confirmed by the passage in Muratori's Fragment.

Now, if we may regard it as certain that St. Paul had not visited Spain any more than Rome, or any country west of Rome, previous to his seizure and imprisonment at Jerusalem, we are compelled to assume that he was liberated from his first Roman imprisonment, and, in the interval between this and his second imprisonment there, made a journey into Spain, according to the purpose entertained by him during his residence in Corinth (Rom. xv. 24, 28).

This assumption is by no means contradicted by anything that is said in the Acts of the Apostles; in my judgment, the statements there rather favour it. Baur, indeed (*Pastoralbriefe*, p. 92), finds a conclusive argument against this assumption in St. Paul's farewell address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus (Acts xx. 17 sqq.). At ver. 25 the apostle says, "I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more;" and in ver. 38 we are told that the elders sorrowed "most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more." Now, as Baur proceeds throughout on the presupposition that the entire discourse is the composition of the writer of the book, who already had before him the subsequent facts, he thinks—and, upon this supposition, with fairness—that he could not have put these words into St. Paul's mouth, nor have emphatically repeated them, if after all the apostle was in the issue liberated from his Roman imprisonment, and did visit again the Churches in Asia Minor. But the results of our investigations (§ 125, 130) have already led us to the conclusion that the discourse to the Ephesian elders must be looked upon as authentic. And if St. Paul did express himself as we are told in Acts xx., we are not obliged to conclude that he there delivered a prophecy, or spoke by divine revelation or other certain prescience, declaring that the impending imprisonment would end in his death, or that the Christians in these districts would never again see him. He rather expresses himself as if he felt a very strong presentiment of the worst issue. That he could not have meant it as a deliberate prophecy, is clear from the fact that in the epistles which he wrote during the Roman imprisonment, he expresses the hope and confidence that he would again visit the churches of Macedonia and Asia Minor (Phil. ii. 24; Philem. 22). No argument, therefore, can be drawn against our assumption from the statement to the Ephesian elders, or the comment of the narrator upon it. Luke, as he usually does in both his treatises, and in the Acts particularly, simply gives the account which he has before him without any comment of his own; and it by no

means follows that because he does so, he was unaware of the more happy issue of that Roman imprisonment.[1] The manner in which the book of the Acts closes (ch. xxviii. 31), viz. with the statement that Paul "abode two whole years in Rome in his own hired house, preaching the kingdom of God to all who came unto him, no man forbidding him," is by no means unimportant as bearing upon our assumption. The composition of the Acts must be placed certainly some years after the second year of the apostle's residence in Rome, and Luke must have concluded thus summarily and abruptly, because at this point an important change took place in the apostle's circumstances; and it is very improbable, judging from the style and manner of this conclusion, that this change was the trial and martyrdom of the apostle, the final conclusion of his life and labours. Far more conformable to the words of these last verses is it to suppose that the change which then took place was the liberation of the apostle, when a new series of labours and of visits to other places began, concerning which Luke, when he ended the book of the Acts, intended at a future time to give Theophilus an account.

At any rate, we must conclude that the liberation of the apostle took place before the burning of Rome by Nero (A.D. 64, July 19 and onwards), and the persecution of the Christians which followed thereupon; for after that time he certainly could not have obtained his freedom. This may certainly have been the case, not only on the supposition of St. Paul's arrival in Rome in the year 61, but supposing (as seems to us more probable) that he arrived in the spring of the year 62. In this latter case his liberation must have taken place only a few months before the terrible events referred to, and this is quite possible.

[1] [Otto refers to the supposed plan of the book of the Acts (see § 123), and to the express revelation of Christ to the apostle, Acts xxiii. 11, that Paul should bear witness of Him "as far as Rome, and no farther." It reflects (he thinks) upon the apostolic character of St. Paul, to suppose that after that revelation he should have had in mind another goal still farther off than Rome. As if in that passage the apostle's labours were *limited* to Rome!—B.]

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

§ 177.

We know Titus only through the Pauline epistles; he is not mentioned in the Acts. He is first named in Gal. ii. 3, on the occasion of St. Paul's second journey to Jerusalem, Acts xv. He accompanied the apostle on this journey, and had probably been before then his assistant at Antioch. He was, according to Gal. ii. 3, an Hellenist, born of Greek parents, and had never been admitted as a member of the Jewish nation by the rite of circumcision. Very probably he had been converted by St. Paul, as the title given him in Tit. i. 4 seems to indicate (*Τίτῳ γνησίῳ τέκνῳ*). He is next mentioned in 2d Corinthians. The apostle had probably sent him (see § 150) from Ephesus to Corinth with a letter, now lost, which had been written between 1st and 2d Corinthians; and the importance of this mission on such an occasion shows the great confidence which St. Paul reposed in him. The apostle met him afterwards in Macedonia with news from Corinth, and sent him back again with our 2d Corinthians, and to make the collection for the Christians in Judea. See 2 Cor. ii. 13, where he calls him "Titus, my brother," vii. 6, 13, 14, viii. 6, 16, 17, 23 (*κοινωνὸς ἐμὸς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς συνεργός*), xii. 18. Titus is not named among those companions (Acts xx. 4) who were with St. Paul on his return journey from Corinth, over Macedonia and Asia Minor to Jerusalem, and we may perhaps from this conclude that he was not then with him. When St. Paul wrote the second Epistle to Timothy, Titus had gone to Dalmatia, and had been therefore a short time with the apostle (2 Tim. iv. 10). According to later ecclesiastical tradition, he was the first bishop of Crete (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 4; Theodoret, *ad* 1 Tim. iii. 1; *Constitt. apost.* vii. 46). Still it is very likely that this is based simply on our epistle.

I may mention further, that in Acts xviii. 7, instead of *Ἰούστου* (the name of a *σεβόμενος* in Corinth), another reading gives *Τίτου* (Syr., Erp., Sahid.), *Τίτου Ἰούστου* (E, [Cod.

Sin. ℵ], 4 min., Vulg., Copt., Arm., Syr. p., etc.), *Τιτίου Ἰούστου* (B,D**), and that accordingly Chrysostom, Grotius, and others suppose that Justus to have been our Titus. Wieseler does not indeed confirm this, but he believes that our Titus was a Corinthian, who became the companion of St. Paul after his residence in Corinth (pp. 204, 326). But this is not only a purely arbitrary conjecture: it is decidedly erroneous, because according to Gal. ii. Titus was with St. Paul during those proceedings in Jerusalem (Acts xv.) which certainly preceded his first European tour, and is not, as Wieseler thinks, to be placed after that tour, Acts xviii. (See above, § 136.)

§ 178.

When our epistle was written, Titus was in the island of Crete; and indeed St. Paul had left him behind to set in order the Churches there, and carry forward the correction of those things which were defective (Tit. i. 5). From the manner in which St. Paul here speaks, it would appear that he himself had been to Crete with Titus for a short time, and not very long before. Crete is named in Acts xxvii. 7, 8, where we are told that the ship in which St. Paul was taken to Rome sailed under Crete, and called at a place called *Καλοὶ λιμένες*. From this circumstance Grotius and others have thought that St. Paul left Titus there, because he found that Christianity had been planted here and there upon the island. But this conjecture is untenable. Apart from the probability that, if this had really occurred in connection with one of the apostle's companions, it would have been mentioned in a part of the narrative where everything is given with the greatest minuteness of detail, and probably by Timothy, St. Paul must have written the letter not long after, soon after his arrival in Rome; but the words in ch. iii. 12, *ἐκεῖ γὰρ* (*i.e.* at Nicopolis) *κέκρικα παραχειμάσαι*, show that the apostle was not when he wrote a prisoner, but could plan to go where he wished. The epistle must therefore *either* have been written later, *i.e.* after the Roman imprisonment, which lasted two years,—which would

harmonize with the supposition that immediately after his liberation he visited Crete, because a very long time could not have elapsed between his visit and his letter; *or* both the visit and the epistle must be placed at a much *earlier* period of the apostle's life—before the Roman and the Cæsarean imprisonment, and the seizure in Jerusalem. Many of the latest expositors and critics assign a place to it during that earlier period, but they differ much as to the point in the history on which they fix. Considering merely the external historical relations of the epistle, such an assumption is not improbable, though neither the Acts nor the other Pauline epistles mention any journey of St. Paul with Titus to Crete. By certain passages in 2d Corinthians we have been already obliged to suppose (§ 146), either that St. Paul's stay in Corinth (Acts xviii.) was interrupted and divided by an absence which is not named, or that between this stay and the subsequent visit (Acts xx. 2) another journey to Achaia, and perhaps to Macedonia likewise, which is not mentioned in the Acts, had taken place; and the three shipwrecks named in 2 Cor. xi. 25 imply three voyages as having been made by the apostle in the course of his missionary tours, of which no particulars are given in the Acts. It is open to us, therefore, to suppose that St. Paul, in company with Titus, on his way to or from Europe and Asia Minor, or on a journey between Syria and Asia Minor, or from one part of the Asiatic coast to another, may have been driven to Crete, or that he journeyed thither expressly from Antioch, Asia Minor, or Greece.

The internal historical data of the letter would not contradict this, though they are not of a kind to enable us to fix with certainty on any given time. They rather leave room for choice of several points in the history. We may infer from Tit. iii. 13 that St. Paul intended sending this epistle to Titus by one Zenas, who is described as a *νομικός*, and by Apollos, or otherwise he knew that these brethren would very soon visit Crete, or were in the island already; the first conjecture being the more probable. We know nothing whatever of Zenas, save the mention of him here. But the

mention of him speaks rather in favour of than against the genuineness of the epistle. The mention of Apollos shows us, by comparison with Acts xviii. 24–28, that the epistle must have been written after St. Paul's second missionary tour, and after his first residence in Ephesus (Acts xviii. 19 sq.). The conjecture of Michaelis, therefore, is inadmissible, that St. Paul went to Crete during his first recorded residence in Corinth (Acts xviii.), and that he wrote the Epistle to Titus from Corinth. According to Tit. iii. 12, it would appear that when the epistle was written, Artemas and Tychicus were with the apostle. We know nothing further of Artemas. Tychicus was an Asiatic, who is named as one of St. Paul's companions in travel when he returned from his third great missionary journey from Macedonia to Asia Minor (Acts xx. 4): he had perhaps accompanied him from Ephesus to Macedonia and Achaia. He was afterwards with the apostle in Rome, and was to convey the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians (Col. iv. 7, 8; Eph. vi. 21, 22). In 2 Tim. iv. 12, St. Paul says that he has sent him to Ephesus. Thus he seems to have been much with the apostle, and to have been very serviceable to him in the ministry; so that nothing more definite concerning the date of our epistle can be discovered even from him. Nor can any inference be drawn from the intention expressed to winter in Nicopolis (iii. 12). We know not whether St. Paul did spend a winter at a place called Nicopolis. It does not necessarily follow, from what he here says, that he actually did so; circumstances may have changed, and he may have been compelled to give up his intention. This much, however, is probable, that when St. Paul wrote the epistle, he was residing not in Nicopolis, as the postscript in Cod. A and others read,—for then, as Wieseler, § 330, has remarked, we should have expected ὧδε and not ἐκεῖ,—but in the neighbourhood of this town. But there were several places of this name, and in different countries: viz. (*a*) in Epirus, on the sea-coast, built by Augustus in memory of the battle of Actium; (*b*) in Thrace; (*c*) in Macedonia, on the river Nestus, not far from

Philippi; (*d*) in Armenia, built by Pompey; (*e*) in Cilicia; (*f*) in Bithynia; (*g*) in Pontus; (*h*) in Egypt, and others. Titus, of course, would know which of these was meant, because he knew not only the province to which St. Paul had gone when he left Crete, but also in which of these towns Christianity had obtained a footing, and with which of them St. Paul had personal dealings and associations, as he probably had with the town here mentioned; but to us nothing whatever is known upon either of these points. The ordinary postscript names the Macedonian Nicopolis as the place of writing, and so does Theodoret; but this can be regarded only as a conjecture. This mention of Nicopolis does not bring us a whit nearer to a definite and ascertained conclusion: all we can say is, that the naming of this place, which is not spoken of elsewhere in St. Paul's history, is an argument for the genuineness of the letter, because a forger would not insert the name of a place with which it was not otherwise known that the apostle had personal dealings.

We may therefore regard the facts of the case variously. If the second visit to Corinth, implied in 2d Corinthians, took place subsequently to the journey from Corinth to Ephesus mentioned in Acts xviii. 18, St. Paul might have gone to Crete on that journey from Syria or Asia Minor to Corinth or back, and might have written the epistle from Ephesus; for Apollos had returned thither from Corinth. In this case, Nicopolis might have been the place of that name in Cilicia, and the apostle's intention to winter there was not carried out. This conjecture seems to have the most probability in it; *i.e.* supposing that the visit to Crete and the epistle are placed before the first Roman imprisonment.

But seeing we are obliged, on other and distinct grounds, to conclude that the apostle was liberated from his first Roman imprisonment, both the journey to Crete and the composition of the epistle are best placed in the interval between the first and the second Roman imprisonment. This, when we consider it, is by far the simplest and most probable view. The following are the main considerations in its favour:—

a. The relation which our epistle bears to 2d Timothy, which, as we shall see, must certainly have been written in the last Roman imprisonment. The close affinity subsisting between these two epistles in style and language, and the corresponding difference between them both and the other earlier Pauline letters, are best explained upon the supposition that they stand tolerably near together in point of time.

b. Apart from this, the expressions διδασκαλία ὑγιαίνουσα, i. 9, ii. 1; ὑγιαίνειν ἐν τῇ πίστει, i. 13, ii. 2; and the direction given in ch. iii. 10 as to the treatment to be pursued towards an αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον, make it probable that the epistle belongs to a later time, when many false doctrines had arisen in the Churches, and when these had attained a more definite form and settled character, in opposition to the true apostolic doctrine, than they had before the apostle's seizure in Jerusalem.

c. Had the epistle been written during the earlier period, there must have been Christian Churches in Crete when St. Paul travelled as a prisoner from Cæsarea to Rome; and in this case we should certainly expect that, in the very detailed and circumstantial narrative of Acts xxvii., some reference or hint would directly or indirectly have been given: *e.g.*, that Paul and his company would have liked to have wintered there, not only on account of the weather, but to see the Christian brethren there, even if they were living at a different place in the island from that where they landed; or that the apostle was grieved that he could not visit them. [Such a supposition is further sanctioned by what we are told did happen both in Malta, and on their landing in Italy, where they met the brethren.]

§ 179.

The object of the epistle is to give Titus rules for his guidance in ordering the affairs of the Churches, and in appointing office-bearers, and to tell him what he must chiefly have at heart in the oversight of the Churches and of individuals. As to the appointment of office-bearers, it

is important to observe that no distinction is made in the epistle between the ἐπίσκοπος and the πρεσβύτερος (i. 5, 7); and that no mention whatever is made of deacons as distinct from, and side by side with, the ἐπίσκοποι. This indicates great simplicity of church organization, and, taken together with the evidence otherwise furnished of the genuineness of the epistle, shows that it could not have been written, as some think, long after the apostolic age. We learn from Philo (*Legat. ad Cai.* § 36), that Jews had settled in Crete; and the epistle shows that St. Paul was anxious about the influence they might have in disturbing the Churches there, though he only hints at this (i. 10, 14, iii. 9). The style of the polemic against errors which had arisen or were threatening, furnishes no objection, as far as I can see, against the genuineness of the letter, though De Wette (§ 154, *c*) thinks it does. It certainly cannot be thought strange that Judaizing teachers were already threatening to disturb the Churches, even before they were thoroughly organized or had elders ordained over them, for we find the same thing at Colossæ. Nor can I see, in the qualifications specified for the bishop in ch. i. 9, any proof that Christianity must have been established in the island a longer time than other statements of the letter, and circumstances connected with it, oblige us to suppose.

THE EPISTLES TO TIMOTHY.

§ 180.

Timotheus (cf. § 140) was the son of a Gentile father and of a Jewish mother belonging to Lystra in Lycaonia. St. Paul first met him there on his second great missionary journey, and took him with him as his assistant, having circumcised him because of the Jews which were in that quarter (Acts xvi. 1 sqq.). At that time Timotheus already belonged to the Christian Church, for he is called a μαθητής, and so did his mother (υἱὸς γυναικὸς Ἰουδαίας πιστῆς, Acts xvi. 1). They both had probably been brought to the knowledge of

the gospel by St. Paul himself on his former journey (xiv. 6). According to 2 Tim. i. 5, his grandmother was also a Christian, and her name is given as Lois, and that of his mother as Eunice. On that journey of Acts xvi., Timotheus accompanied Paul and Silas to Philippi, where it seems that he remained after Paul and Silas left, meeting them again afterwards at Berea. Here again he remained behind upon St. Paul's departure, and came to him again at Athens. The apostle then sent him into Macedonia, and perhaps to Thessalonica (1 Thess. iii. 2), whence he came with Silas to St. Paul at Corinth, and was with him at Corinth when he wrote the Epistles to the Thessalonians, but had probably left when the apostle departed to go by Ephesus to Jerusalem. He was, however, with the apostle during his protracted residence at Ephesus. From Ephesus St. Paul sent him (probably with our 1st Corinthians) to Corinth (1 Cor. iv. 17, xvi. 10), whence he returned again to the apostle, who again despatched him with Erastus to Macedonia (Acts xix. 22), a short time before he went thither himself. He was with St. Paul in Macedonia when he wrote 2d Corinthians (i. 1), and with him at Corinth when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 21). He returned to Asia Minor with St. Paul (Acts xx. 4), and certainly accompanied him all the way to Jerusalem, and most probably was with him on his voyage from Cæsarea to Rome; for he was, we think, the narrator of that eventful journey, as well as of the journey from Macedonia to Jerusalem, and of the second missionary tour from Troas to Philippi (see § 124, 125). He was certainly in Rome with the imprisoned apostle when he wrote the Epistles to the Philippians, to Philemon, to the Colossians, and the Ephesian epistle. It is further evident, from Heb. xiii. 23, that Timotheus had been for some time a prisoner before that epistle was written, and had a short time before been liberated. This was probably in Rome, and after St. Paul's death. Ecclesiastical tradition makes Timotheus the first bishop of the Church at Ephesus (Euseb. iii. 4; *Const. apost.* vii. 46); and the last-named work says that he suffered martyrdom under Domitian or Nerva.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

§ 181.

St. Paul, when he wrote this epistle, was a prisoner (i. 8, 12, 16, ii. 9), and in Rome, as is clear from ch. i. 16, 17. He had already once stood his trial there, without being condemned (iv. 16, 17). From ch. iv. 6–8, he seems to take it for granted that his imprisonment would soon terminate in death: *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι, καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἀναλύσεώς μου ἐφέστηκεν.* This, however, must be regarded simply as a presentiment, and not as an assured conviction, as is clear from vers. 17, 18, and still more from the contents of the entire epistle, which show that he did not expect to suffer immediately. Of his helpers in the gospel, Luke only was with him (iv. 11). He sends greetings from several—of whom we know nothing, save that they were doubtless confessors of the Lord, and probably residents in Rome, without being officially employed in the service of the gospel—Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, Claudia, "*καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες.*" Other helpers had been with him during this imprisonment (iv. 10, 12), who had now left, and whose departure he seems keenly to have felt: viz. (*a*) Demas, of whom he says, "he hath forsaken me, having loved this world, and has gone to Thessalonica." He is named in Col. iv. 14, Philem. 24, where St. Paul sends greetings from him, so that he must then also have been with the apostle. (*b*) Crescens, who had gone to Galatia, of whom we know nothing more. (*c*) Titus, who had gone to Dalmatia, where Christianity had probably been preached and planted by the apostle, because Dalmatia belonged to the province of Illyricum (Rom. xv. 19). (*d*) Tychicus, whom he had sent to Ephesus, and whom we have already had before us as the messenger to whom the Epistles to the Colossians and the Ephesians were entrusted, and who probably conveyed the Epistle to Titus to Crete. In ch. i. 15 he speaks of "those who are in Asia" (*οἱ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ*), who had turned away from him, and among whom were Phygellus and Hermogenes (persons unknown to us).

He speaks of this as a fact already known to Timothy, though it is not expressly said that they had been with him in Rome. Immediately afterwards he highly commends one Onesiphorus, who had been of great service to him in Ephesus, and who in Rome had evinced great love to him. This Onesiphorus seems to have been an Ephesian, who during St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome came thither, and apparently was still there; cf. iv. 19, *ἄσπασαι . . . τὸν Ὀνησιφόρου οἶκον*. Timothy was not himself near to the apostle, but in Asia Minor, probably in Ephesus or the neighbourhood: the comparison of iv. 19 with i. 18 leads us to this conclusion; so also iv. 14, cf. Acts xix. 33, 34. There also were probably Aquila and Priscilla (iv. 19, *ἄσπασαι Πρίσκαν καὶ Ἀκύλαν*), who had formerly resided in Rome, but who were obliged to leave through the edict of Claudius, and had come to Corinth (Acts xviii.), where St. Paul once sojourned with them. With him they had gone to Ephesus, where they remained a long time; thence they must have removed to Rome, for they were at this city when the Epistle to the Romans was written. We may with probability assume that they were not at Rome when St. Paul wrote our Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon; otherwise they would surely have been mentioned, at least in the Colossian epistle. Before St. Paul's first coming to Rome they may have returned to Asia, and have settled at Ephesus, where we here find them.

The apostle's immediate object in the epistle was to urge Timothy to come to him as soon as possible (i. 4, iv. 9, 21, *πρὸ χειμῶνος*); and he commands him to bring Mark with him (iv. 11), who must have been at the time not far from Timothy; also to bring some things which the apostle had left behind him at Troas on a former visit to those parts (iv. 13, *τὸν φελόνην*, "the cloak" or "the bag").

§ 182.

In inquiring the time of writing, we take for granted the genuineness of the epistle; and we are fully warranted to do this by the numerous personal references occurring in it,

which are of such a character that it would be almost impossible to explain them on the supposition of the spuriousness of the epistle. Genuineness, indeed, is stamped upon the letter throughout, so clearly and unmistakeably, that we cannot for a moment entertain the idea of its being a forgery. It would be very difficult to discover an object that could have induced any later writer to forge such an epistle in St. Paul's name. The question therefore arises, whether the historical facts and circumstances presented in the letter in any way point to and correspond with that Roman imprisonment which is mentioned in the end of the book of the Acts, and during which the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, were written. Some of the latest expositors think that they do. Our epistle might have been written either before or after these others, either in the first or last portion of the two years' imprisonment: almost all (except Hug) are agreed in saying that it could not have been among these letters, *i.e.* after one and before another; and they certainly are right in this, because in all those four Timothy is represented as with St. Paul, but when this was addressed to him he was far away. Most of those who put this epistle in this imprisonment hold that it was written later than the other four (so Hemsen, Kling, Wieseler); but others, *e.g.* Matthies, before them. The difference in Timothy's circumstances seems to favour this theory, just as that in Mark's relations, who, according to Col. iv. 10, Philem. 24, had been with St. Paul at Rome; whereas in our epistle (iv. 11) he commands Timothy to bring him with him from Asia Minor. This might be explained if the epistle had been written in the beginning of the imprisonment; for Timothy and Mark might have come to Rome in consequence of this command of the apostle, so that they would have been with him when he wrote Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon, and Timothy at least when he wrote Philippians. Our theory, indeed, that Timothy accompanied the apostle from Cæsarea to Rome, and wrote the account of that journey given in the Acts (xxvii. xxviii.), would not agree with this supposition. But there are other

personal references in 2d Timothy which also militate against the opinion: *e.g.* (*a*) that Demas had forsaken him (iv. 10), for he was with St. Paul when Colossians (iv. 14) and Philemon (24) were written; and as he is mentioned in 2d Timothy, it is very improbable that he had so soon come back to him again. It rather implies that 2d Timothy was written later. Again, (*b*) according to Acts xxvii. 2, Aristarchus sailed with St. Paul from Cæsarea to Rome; and he was still with the apostle, Col. iv. 10, Philem. 24, but not with him certainly when our epistle was written (see iv. 11). Aristarchus therefore, like Demas, as he was away from Rome when 2d Timothy was written, must have returned again to the apostle, which is still less probable. Further, (*c*) Tychicus, who was to convey the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, had been sent, according to 2 Tim. iv. 12, by the apostle to Ephesus. This also tells in favour of the opinion that 2d Timothy was written after those other epistles, even if it be thought by some that the mission named in 2d Timothy is the same as that in which he was entrusted with the Epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon.

In limiting the date of the epistle to one and the same Roman imprisonment, we are thus compelled by overwhelming considerations to place it last. Accordingly Timothy and Mark must have left home since the writing of the other four epistles, and have gone to Asia Minor; and this we may suppose, though it is not without difficulty. (*a*) It hardly is reconcilable as to time, considering that this imprisonment seems, according to the mention of it in the Acts, to have lasted only two years; and that of those four earlier epistles sent during this Roman imprisonment, one (Philippians) was written at a different time from the other three, and under different circumstances, and none of them were written during the first half of the period named; and yet that afterwards Timothy was sent by St. Paul to Asia Minor, and a fifth letter written recalling him again to Rome, when he could hardly have reached his destination. It is difficult to conceive of all these epistles, events, and changes being

crowded into one and the same year. Moreover, (*b*) there is in 2d Timothy no hint whatever that Timothy had been with the apostle during the imprisonment in which he writes, still less that he had left him only a short time before; nor is there any hint of the same kind concerning Mark. Still greater difficulty is presented in 2 Tim. iv. 20, against the opinion that the epistle was written during the first Roman imprisonment. This passage is not easily explicable upon such a supposition: Ἔραστος ἔμεινεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, Τρόφιμον δὲ ἀπέλιπον ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἀσθενοῦντα. These words, in their natural sense, certainly lead us to suppose that St. Paul himself had been upon a journey, and had left Trophimus behind him at Miletus sick, and that Erastus had parted from him at Corinth. Now, if the epistle were written during the first Roman imprisonment, the reference in these words can only be to the last journey of the apostle recorded in the Acts from Achaia over Macedonia to Jerusalem. As to Erastus, it is not improbable that, as St. Paul had sent him with Timothy from Ephesus to Macedonia (Acts xix. 22), and as he was with the apostle in Corinth when the Epistle to the Romans was written, and probably occupied a public position there (Rom. xvi. 23, οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως), St. Paul may have left him behind when he departed from Corinth; for he is not mentioned among the companions in travel upon the return journey in Acts xx. 4. But we can hardly understand how, after an interval of three years, St. Paul could thus have to inform Timothy of this fact; for Timothy was himself in company with St. Paul on that return journey, and is named as one of the companions in travel (Acts xx. 4). As to Trophimus, he was an Ephesian, and one of the apostle's companions on that journey from Macedonia to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 4); but he could not have been left at Miletus, because we find him with the apostle in Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 29); nor could he have been left there upon the voyage from Cæsarea to Rome, for in the detailed account of that voyage Miletus is not named as one of the seaports at which they called. The way in which Wieseler endeavours to set aside this difficulty is very far-fetched.

He argues that the ship in which St. Paul embarked at Cæsarea was bound for the coasts of Asia Minor (Acts xxvii. 2), so that, if they had remained on board, they would have gone forward to Miletus; but when the Roman centurion embarked with his prisoners on board another vessel at Myra in Lycia, Trophimus remained in the first ship, and went on in her to Miletus. But had this been so, St. Paul could hardly have said, "Trophimus *I left* sick at Miletus," which is 150 miles from Myra. We cannot, moreover, suppose that the apostle could have had thus to inform Timothy of this circumstance two years after it occurred, when for a considerable part of this time Timothy had been with him in Rome, or especially when, according to our view, Timothy had been with the apostle on that very voyage. Whether this view of ours be adopted or not, the difficulty remains insuperable. If our epistle was really written during the first Roman imprisonment, we should have to give another meaning to this verse, to the effect that Paul had not been to Corinth and Miletus when Erastus and Trophimus remained behind there, but that he simply had been expecting these friends, and they had not come; and thus Hug, Matthies, Hemsen, Kling, and others, explain it. Hug takes the ἀπέλιπον as the 3d plur. thus: "Trophimus have they left at Miletus sick, *i.e.* they of Asia, with whom he was to have come to me, as witnesses for my case." Had this been the meaning, we should at least have expected that "they of Asia" (i. 15) would have been mentioned immediately before. Matthies (p. 588) renders it, "On account of his sickness, I have been obliged to let him remain at Miletus." But any one fairly considering the language used must grant that St. Paul could not have expressed himself as he has, if he did not really mean to intimate that he had been to Miletus, and that Trophimus through sickness could not accompany him farther. In like manner, if he did not mean that Erastus had parted from him, and stayed behind in Corinth, he could not have said ἔμεινεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, but would certainly have used some other expression; *e.g.*, "Erastus has not come to me," or the like.

§ 183.

Assuming, therefore, the indisputable genuineness of this epistle, its contents confirm our belief in the twofold Roman imprisonment of St. Paul. And bearing in mind the *data* of the Epistle to Titus, and the passage from Clement of Rome, the most probable supposition seems to be, that when St. Paul obtained his freedom at the end of the two years' imprisonment, he went first into Spain, thence with Titus to Crete, thence to Asia Minor and Greece, visiting Troas, Miletus, and Corinth, and that he had not seen Timothy since he was at these last-named places. We have indeed no information as to the manner in which he came to be again a prisoner in Rome. Possibly he went thither voluntarily, in order to visit the brethren, and was apprehended during his residence there, and his imprisonment ended in his martyrdom. At any rate, we must assume (*a*) that a tolerably long interval elapsed between the end of the first and the beginning of the second Roman imprisonment, probably not less than two years; (*b*) that during this interval the burning of Rome, and the first bloody persecution of the Roman Christians by Nero following thereupon, took place. If this had not preceded, we can hardly understand how St. Paul could have said, with reference to the Roman authorities (2 Tim. iv. 17), ἐρρύσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος. (*c*) That when the apostle returned to Rome, the first outburst of rage against the Christians had assuaged; otherwise the proceedings against St. Paul could not have been so protracted as this epistle implies. (*d*) That the martyrdom of St. Paul could not have taken place before A.D. 66, and perhaps somewhat later. This is very probable, and tallies with the date given by Eusebius, viz. A.D. 67.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

§ 184.

We have seen (§ 173) that criticism was directed against the genuineness of this book long before the two other pas-

toral epistles, and that amongst others Neander himself confessed that he was not so fully satisfied about it as about all the other Pauline epistles in our Canon, including Titus and 2d Timothy. Most modern expositors and critics, on the other hand, think that we must form the same judgment concerning this as concerning the other two, and that all three must stand or fall together. It cannot be denied that there is a great similarity between 1st Timothy on the one hand, and 2d Timothy, and especially Titus, on the other, and that the three together stand contrasted in many points with the rest of St. Paul's epistles (see De Wette, § 155 *a*—*c*); showing apparently that they are the work of one and the same writer, and if not contemporaneous, were at any rate written very near together. My opinion is, that the case of 1st Timothy is very different from that of Titus and 2d Timothy, and that, if viewed as a genuine letter of St. Paul's, it presents far greater difficulties than do those. They who hold all three epistles to be spurious acknowledge this; for they (*e.g.* Eichhorn, Baur, De Wette) regard 1st Timothy as written after the other two, and as to some extent dependent upon them, though perhaps by the same writer. Those who hold that all three epistles are genuine cannot allow this; for, according to them, 1st Timothy must have been written at least before 2d Timothy.

There is no question that this epistle, like the others, claims to have been written by St. Paul, who is expressly named as the writer (i. 1), and who is represented as addressing his letter to Timothy, whom he had left behind at Ephesus on his journey to Macedonia,[1] and who had since been called upon to combat certain false teachers (i. 3). Directions are here given to Timothy to guide him in refuting these teachers,

[1] [Otto, on the contrary, by a very far-fetched and distorted interpretation of 1 Tim. i. 3, makes out that it is not St. Paul, but Timothy, who is said to have gone to Macedonia, whither St. Paul had sent him (Acts xix. 22). The epistle, he thinks, refers not so much to Church affairs in Macedonia generally, but to the Church at Corinth, whither Timothy had proceeded: it was, he thinks, not a letter *sent* to Timothy, but a paper of instructions *given* to him.]

in his behaviour to various classes of persons in the Church, and in enlarging and completing the organization of the community, until the apostle should himself come thither, as he hoped to do soon, though he might be delayed (iii. 14, 15, cf. iv. 13). It cannot be denied that it is very difficult to find a point in the portion of the apostle's life recorded in the book of the Acts answering to the historical relations implied in this epistle. I make the following remarks:—

a. For a journey of St. Paul's from Ephesus to Macedonia we naturally turn our thoughts to that mentioned in Acts xx. 1, and most early expositors[1] think that this is the one intended. But considering what we otherwise know of this, it does not correspond with the relations implied in our epistle. According to Acts xix. 22 (as we have seen), before St. Paul took that journey from Ephesus to Macedonia and Achaia, he had sent Timothy with Erastus from Ephesus, and Timothy was with the apostle in Macedonia when he wrote our 2d Corinthians. St. Paul could not then have written a letter wherein he implies that on coming from Ephesus he had left Timothy behind him there. To meet this objection, some expositors suppose that the mission of Timothy to Macedonia recorded in Acts xix. 22 is the same with that to Corinth (1 Cor. iv. 17, xvi. 10, 11), returning from which, St. Paul was expecting him again in Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 11): he would therefore be returned again, when the apostle left Ephesus; and the apostle would leave him behind when he started, and would write the epistle to him either from Macedonia, or on his journey thither. Contrary to expectation, however, Timothy was obliged by unforeseen circumstances to leave Ephesus again and follow the apostle, so that when 2d Corinthians was written, he would be again with St. Paul in Macedonia. This combination of circumstances is in more than one particular improbable. The account in Acts xix. 21, 22 shows plainly that the mission there mentioned of Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia took place only a short time before St. Paul's

[1] So Theodoret, Estius, Hammond, Michaelis, Hanlein, Schmidt, Heinrichs, Planck, Curtius, Hug, Anger, and others.

departure thither, and it is very unlikely that Timothy could have returned to Ephesus before St. Paul started. It is certain that the writer of that account knew nothing of such an occurrence, or of St. Paul's expecting him back, still less receiving him back, before he himself started. If St. Paul had written the letter under these circumstances from Macedonia, we can scarcely think that he could have intended, as 1 Tim. iii. 14 shows, to return very soon again to Ephesus; for, according to Acts xix. 21 (cf. xx. 16), his purpose was to go on from Macedonia to Achaia, and it appears from 2d Corinthians that he kept to this.

b. Matthies has advocated a very singular view. He thinks that St. Paul, upon his journey from Achaia (Acts xx. 1 sqq.), and before he returned over Macedonia to Asia Minor, despatched Timothy with oral instructions to Ephesus, and told him to stay there till he came; and thus he takes the participle *πορευόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν* (i. 3) to refer to Timothy. But this is hardly admissible on grammatical grounds, for in this case it should have been in the accusative. But apart from this, if St. Paul had sent Timothy from Achaia over Macedonia to Ephesus, to stay at this last-named place, he could not have said, "I commanded thee, when thou wentest to Macedonia, to abide still at Ephesus." In Acts xx. 4, moreover, Timothy is named among the apostle's companions on his journey back from Macedonia into Asia, and St. Paul could not have intended upon this journey to spend longer time in Ephesus, as 1st Timothy intimates.

c. Other expositors, *e.g.* Mosheim, Schrader, Wieseler, Reuss, assume, for the sake of this epistle, an earlier journey of the apostle's not mentioned in the Acts, during the three years' residence in Ephesus (Acts xix.). Wieseler thinks that St. Paul made this journey in the last of those three years to Macedonia, Corinth, and Crete, whence he returned to Ephesus; Reuss, on the contrary, conjectures that he went first to Crete, then to Corinth, then to Illyricum, and then over Macedonia back to Ephesus. This last conjecture is the least tenable; for on such a journey as Reuss supposes,

St. Paul could not have expressed himself as he does (1 Tim. i. 3), that when he departed *to* Macedonia he told Timothy to abide still at Ephesus. But apart from this, if it be advisable for us to suppose that St. Paul did not spend the whole of these two or three years uninterruptedly in Ephesus, it is quite improbable—according to Acts xix. 10, and particularly St. Paul's own statement (Acts xx. 31)—that he could have made a journey of such length and importance during the Ephesian visit as this conjecture involves. Moreover, the relation of 1st Timothy to the other two Pastoral Epistles (on the supposition of its genuineness) obliges us to fix its date much nearer to these than such a conjecture would allow; and least of all in relation to 2d Timothy, if it was written (as we believe) during a second Roman imprisonment.

§ 185.

The question assumes another form if we put our 1st Timothy after the liberation of the apostle from his first imprisonment in Rome.[1] We must in this case suppose that after his liberation St. Paul went to Ephesus, not long before he wrote our epistle, and that, leaving Timothy there, he went on into Macedonia. Considering the results at which we have already arrived (§ 178, 182), we might suppose the course of events to have been as follows:—St. Paul, having on the termination of his first imprisonment visited Spain and Crete, went into Asia Minor, and spent some time there, especially at Ephesus; that here he left Timothy (who had perhaps been with him ever since he left Rome), while he went himself by Troas to Macedonia; that when in Macedonia he wrote 1st Timothy and the Epistle to Titus, almost at the same time. He then may have returned to Rome by way of Corinth and Miletus, before he had again

[1] So already Œcumenius and Theophylact; so also Usher, Mill, Pearson, Clericus, Mynster (*Kleine theol. Schriften*, Copenh. 1825, p. 191 sqq.), Wurm, Wegscheider, Feilmoser, Heydenreich, Guericke, Böhl, Flatt, Mack (*Com. über die Pastoralbr. des Ap. P.*, Tüb. 1836, 2d ed. 1841), Leo (*Pauli ep. prima ad Tim. græce cum comm. perpetuo*, Leipz. 1837). [Conybeare and Howson, Alford.]

seen Timothy; and having arrived in the city, he was again imprisoned and wrote 2d Timothy. In this case we must suppose that he did not fulfil his intention, named in our epistle, to go to Ephesus again. Or we may suppose that, after writing our epistle, he did go to Ephesus, and thence came by Miletus and Corinth to Rome. Whichever conjecture we adopt, it does not affect our epistle.

This certainly may have been the case. But when we contemplate our epistle as written at this time, and under these circumstances, it presents both in its contents and its general bearing very serious difficulties: as a letter of St. Paul, with reference to the affairs of a Church which he had three times visited, spending during one of these visits between two and three years labouring among them,—a Church with whose members and officers he had many strong ties of affection (Acts xx.), among whom he had been a short time before he wrote; a letter addressed to such a fellow-labourer and friend as Timothy, who had been in his service for many years, partly living with him, and partly fulfilling his commissions to other Churches, who had been in Ephesus with him more than once, and was known there as the most trusty companion of the apostle. That, in a letter written under the circumstances at the time implied, St. Paul should give Timothy so many directions and counsels in reference to the Church, and Timothy's personal position in relation to it, may not seem strange; and we may suppose that he might write this or that which we are sure Timothy must long before have heard and known: he might intentionally do this, because the epistle was to be communicated to the Church; and he wished to justify and confirm Timothy in his personal and official relations to the community. But these directions are of a very general character, such as would be as applicable to any other Church as to that at Ephesus; *e.g.* iii. 1–13, v. 9 sqq., concerning the qualifications necessary in presbyters and deacons, the wives of presbyters and deaconesses. We cannot doubt that, when the epistle was written, these offices had long existed in the Ephesian Church, and were filled by certain individuals (cf.

Acts xx. 17); but they are spoken of as if they were now for the first time about to be established in a newly formed communion. It has indeed been supposed that, during the long imprisonments at Cæsarea and in Rome, the Churches had been much troubled and disordered by false teachers and disturbers of the peace; and St. Paul, after his liberation, had stayed at Ephesus only a short time, so that he could not re-arrange matters fully. He had therefore left Timothy behind for this purpose, and thought it advisable to give him all necessary directions in writing. But supposing it was so, we certainly might have expected that these directions would have been expressed differently, and not as we find them. Considering the close intimacy subsisting between St. Paul and the Ephesian Church, we may be sure that he was kept informed, both at Cæsarea and Rome, of their state and circumstances, and had as frequent intercourse with them as the distance would allow. He could not therefore have been very ignorant of the state of matters among them during the years he was absent. Admitting all this, our epistle intimates that St. Paul had been again with them; and whether his stay was long or short, it would be long enough to renew old friendships, and to learn what changes had taken place in the personal circumstances of the community. We are therefore justified in expecting that, in his directions concerning Church officers, St. Paul would not be satisfied with an enumeration of the qualifications necessary for the office generally, but would have referred Timothy to certain individuals; for he must himself have known the qualifications of individuals in the Church, and their fitness to fill certain offices. In the Epistle to Titus, indeed, we find the directions given regarding the election of elders in a general way only; but there the case was different. The directions are addressed to one or more Churches lately formed, with which the apostle had spent only a very short time—not long enough to become fully acquainted with personal matters.

We can hardly believe that St. Paul would have kept personal matters and references to personal relations so entirely in the background in other respects also. There are

no greetings either from St. Paul to the Church, or to particular members of the Church; nor to Timothy on the part of the Macedonian Christians, who had been personally known to him, for he had often been among them, and had had a share in their first conversion. This appears all the more strange, because in his epistles generally St. Paul is wont to give so much prominence to what is personal, whether in the way of praise and comfort, or reproof and warning. Our epistle presents quite a contrast to 2d Timothy and to Titus in this respect; and I confess that I cannot satisfactorily to myself explain this phenomenon in our epistle, upon the supposition of its genuineness, and that herein there lies for me a very serious ground of doubt.[1]

§ 186.

Other grounds I regard as secondary; still the epistle presents much that is questionable. I may name the following:—

(*a.*) The epistle contains much that reminds us of other Pauline Epistles, and much that is akin to the two other Pastoral Epistles. But this relationship is undeniably of such a kind, at least in part, as to be the more easily explained

[1] [We cannot fail to be struck with the diffidence and reluctance with which Bleek here states his doubt, nor to perceive the candour with which, having balanced the arguments *pro* and *con*, and finding the preponderance in his reckoning on the negative side, he suffers not his religious sympathies and Christian conservatism to override his critical judgment. But while admiring his fairness and impartiality, we cannot estimate as he does the weight of the objection. Indeed, we might refer to some statements of his own, with reference to other epistles, which seem to meet the objections here advanced. (*a.*) It is admitted, even by Baur (see ALFORD'S *Greek Test.* iii. Prolegg. 86), that we have in this epistle a reflection and counterpart of what St. Paul declared to the Ephesian elders (Acts xx. 29, 30), in the prospect of his speedy imprisonment and martyrdom (Acts xxi. 13),—a martyrdom which did not then occur, a presentiment which was not yet to be fulfilled. We cannot, moreover, read the beautiful words of 1 Tim. i. 11–17, wherein the apostle so touchingly refers to his past history, and to the gracious dealings of the Lord towards him, and the personal references to Timothy and others which follow (vers. 18–20), without feeling that we have

upon the supposition that 1st Timothy is the production of a later writer imitating St. Paul, than if we regard it as a genuine work of the apostle. This affinity is striking in 1 Tim. iii. 1–13 as compared with Tit. i. 5–9, where the qualifications necessary in the office-bearers of the Church are enumerated. Here the coincidence is striking, not only in thought, but in language; but in Titus the *πρεσβύτεροι* only are named, while in 1st Timothy we have both the *πρεσβύτεροι* as distinct from, and side by side with, the *διάκονοι*, yet without any characteristic difference in the qualifications specified, though their functions were very different. It seems more probable that the latter has come from an imitator of the apostle's words to Titus, than from the same apostle who wrote the Epistle to Titus. We would infer the same from the manner in which "sound doctrine" is spoken of, 1 Tim. i. 10, as compared with passages in the other two epistles. Cf. 2 Tim. iv. 3, 4, i. 13; Tit. i. 9, 13, ii. 1, 2, 7, 8. "Sound doctrine" is named in these places as contrasted with what is effeminate, weak, pleasant only to the ear; and thus it is applied in 1 Tim. vi. 3, 4. But in 1 Tim. i. 10, the worst crimes are set in antithesis to it: "murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, whoremongers, them that defile themselves with mankind, men-

here the genuine outgo of the apostle's tender, sympathizing, and intensely human heart (see HOWSON *on the Character of St. Paul*). (*b.*) The facts, moreover, that St. Paul had been at Ephesus so short a time before (i. 3), and that he expected so soon to be there again (iii. 14), may partly account for the absence of greetings. (*c.*) The letter seems to have been intended as a summary of directions for Timothy's use and guidance, not only at Ephesus, but in other Churches. Timothy may have asked the apostle for such a summary of his oral counsels; and considering the age of the apostle, and the uncertainty of his life, as well as the growing difficulties and perplexities of Church organization and discipline, it was natural for him to seek from the apostle such a summary of directions, and natural for the apostle to give it. "These things I write unto thee," he says, iii. 14, 15, "though I hope to come unto thee shortly; but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God." See the *Prolegg.* of ALFORD, the notes of ELLICOTT, and the article in SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible*.—TR.]

stealers, liars," etc. This is so unnatural an application of the term, that we can hardly believe that St. Paul himself used it in such a connection, but rather another writer who imitated the Pauline expression.

(*b.*) In 1 Tim. i. 20, St. Paul says that some had made shipwreck of the faith, among whom were "Hymenæus and Alexander, whom," he says, "I have given over unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme." This delivering over unto Satan certainly includes, if it does not simply mean, excommunication—expulsion from the Christian Church. It does not clearly appear whether St. Paul had himself, when at Ephesus, performed this act of discipline—the persons named having behaved in a manner which he regarded as contrary to pure and sound doctrine—or that he now for the first time pronounces the excommunication in this epistle. In either case, the mode of expression is not quite natural. But the main difficulty here arises from a comparison of this verse with 2d Timothy, where a Hymenæus and an Alexander are spoken of in a condemnatory manner, though in different connections. Hymenæus is named 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18 with a certain Philetus as a false teacher in Ephesus, who "believed that the resurrection is past already;" and the apostle says of them, "they overthrow the faith of some," and "their word will eat as doth a canker." It is very unlikely (as some think) that this Hymenæus is different from the Hymenæus named in 1st Timothy: for if so, there must have been two false teachers at Ephesus of the same name, and this an uncommon name; and if there were two, an intimation would have been given as to which of them was meant. But if both epistles refer to the same person, it would appear that he was still active in promulgating his views after he had been excommunicated; and yet no notice is taken in 2d Timothy as to the fact of his previous excommunication, which we should certainly expect if the Church had acted upon the apostle's condemnation, or had neglected it. It is difficult to reconcile the two passages, supposing both epistles genuine. But we can easily understand how a later writer might be induced by the statement in 2d Timothy to men-

tion Hymenæus, even if he knew nothing more of him, as he is mentioned in 1st Timothy. And so also as to Alexander. An Alexander is named in 2 Tim. iv. 14, who is called "the coppersmith," and who did the apostle "much evil," and who "greatly withstood his words;" of whom Timothy is to beware also. We may therefore suppose that this man was at least then in Ephesus, in the same place with Timothy. An Alexander at Ephesus is named in Acts xix. 33, a Jew, who was put forward by the Jews at the insurrection against the Christians in Ephesus to defend them, lest they should be confounded with the Christians. At that time he certainly was not a member of the Christian Church there; but he may be the same with the Alexander named in 2 Tim. iv. 14, for the mention of him here does not necessarily imply that he belonged to the Church: we are not at least obliged to regard him as a false teacher, as he is represented in 1st Timothy. As the name Alexander was much more common than Hymenæus, we might suppose there were more than one of the name opposed to the apostle in Ephesus. Still the fact that in 2d Timothy he is called χαλκεύς does not oblige us to suppose that there were others of the same name who were also hostile to the apostle, and that it was more necessary to warn him than them. But we can easily understand how a later writer who knew 2d Timothy might mistake this Alexander for a false teacher like Hymenæus, and put them both together in the same censure, as we find in 1st Timothy.

(*c.*) The words in 1 Tim. iv. 12: μηδείς σου τῆς νεότητος καταφρονείτω. We have here, as the connection shows, a warning to Timothy that, in his behaviour as a teacher, and in his general walk and conversation, he should give no occasion for any one to despise him on account of his youth. Cf. Tit. ii. 15. The difficulty lies in the τῆς νεότητος, supposing the epistle to have been written by St. Paul after the first Roman imprisonment. For though Timothy was not yet an old man, he had already been many years a faithful fellow-worker with the apostle, and had been sent by him upon the most difficult missions. During St. Paul's second missionary

tour, when the apostle took him with him from Lycaonia, he sent him from Athens to the newly formed Church in Thessalonica, to confirm the believers there in the faith, and to exhort them lest any should waver under trial; and he calls him his "brother and fellow-labourer with God in the gospel of Christ" (1 Thess. iii. 2–4): showing how already on this journey Timothy had approved himself to St. Paul by the ripeness of his Christian knowledge and practical prudence and ability. Now, supposing 1st Timothy to have been written after St. Paul's first imprisonment, a space of at least ten years must have elapsed since this commendation was written; and during those ten years, the Ephesians in particular had ample opportunity of knowing and appreciating Timothy. St. Paul had sent him from Ephesus without hesitation to a Church so rent with dissension as was at Corinth; and this witnesses to the great trust the apostle reposed in him, and to the esteem in which he was held by the Pauline Churches. It therefore certainly does seem very improbable that, in an epistle written at least five years later, the apostle should be anxious lest the Ephesian Christians should despise Timothy on account of his youth; and it seems to me easier to suppose that a later writer altered Tit. ii. 15, and applied it in this inappropriate manner to Timothy.[1]

(*d.*) 1 Tim. ii. 7 also contains what is strange, viz. the great emphasis with which St. Paul assures Timothy, who had been his fellow-labourer and friend for so many years:

[1] ["Hoc dicit tam aliorum respectu, quam ipsius Timothei."—CALVIN, *in loc.* "There is no difficulty in the term νεότης applied to Timothy. It is in a high degree probable (see Acts xvi. 1–3) that Timothy was young when he first joined the apostle (A.D. 50, Wieseler): if he were then as much as twenty-five, he would not be more than thirty-eight (according to Wieseler's chronology) or forty (according to Pearson's) at the assumed date of this epistle,—a relative νεότης when contrasted with the functions he had to exercise, and the age of those (ch. v. 1 sq.) he had to overlook."—ELLICOTT, *in loc.* So also ALFORD, *Greek Test.* iii. Proleg. 97. DAVIDSON, *Introduction to the N. T.* (1851), iii. 30, following WIESELER, uses the argument from νεότης in proof of the early composition of the epistle by St. Paul.—TR.]

εἰς ὃ ἐτέθην ἐγὼ κήρυξ καὶ ἀπόστολος—ἀλήθειαν λέγω, οὐ ψεύδομαι—διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ. Without this emphasis, and yet with verbal coincidence, we have the expression in 2 Tim. i. 11: εἰς ὃ ἐτέθην ἐγὼ κήρυξ καὶ ἀπόστολος καὶ διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν. We find an asseveration in similar language, but in a very different and more appropriate place, in Rom. ix. 1 (ἀλήθειαν λέγω ἐν Χριστῷ, οὐ ψεύδομαι), when affirming his great grief on account of the apostasy of his nation. But it is quite inexplicable how, in a letter to Timothy, and in such a connection as in 1st Timothy, the apostle could resort to such asseveration. We may far rather suppose that another writer has here blended together the two passages referred to in an inappropriate manner.[1]

(*e.*) In 1 Tim. v. 18 are quoted, as declarations of Scripture (λέγει ἡ γραφή), first Deut. xxv. 4, and immediately afterwards, as another saying (coupled by καί), ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ, which occurs in Christ's words, Luke x. 7.[2] It is not improbable that Christ Himself adopted this declaration, couched in these words, from some Jewish work which St. Paul also here has in his mind; but it is much more likely that in our epistle the saying of Christ Himself is meant, and is, like the passage in Deuteronomy, given as a declaration of Scripture. If this be so, it makes it probable that the epistle was composed subsequently to the apostolic age strictly so called; for the Gospel of St. Luke was certainly written after the apostle's death.

(*f.*) There are still other expressions in the epistle which tell against its genuineness: *e.g.* ii. 14, 15 of the woman: σωθήσεται διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας. It is added, indeed, if they

[1] ["De Wette seems clearly right in maintaining that this protestation refers to the preceding word (ἀπόστολος); the asseveration with regard to his apostleship was of course not intended for Timothy, but for the false teachers who doubted his apostolical authority."—Ellicott, *in loc.*—Tr.]

[2] [*Quod subjicit continuo post,* "*operarium dignum esse mercede sua,*" *non citat quasi Scripturæ testimonium, sed quasi* DICTUM PROVERBIALE, *quod omnibus dictat communis sensus. Quemadmodum testimonium et Christus quum idem dicebat Apostolis, nihil aliud quam sententiam proferebat omnium consensu approbatam.*—Calvin, *in loc.*—Tr.]

continue in faith, and charity, and holiness, with sobriety (*μετὰ σωφροσύνης*); but it is very strange, and by no means Pauline, that *τεκνογονία* should be given as the ground of the *σωτηρία* of the (individual) woman: cf. 1 Cor. vii. 7 sqq., 25 sqq., 40.[1] Again, vi. 20, *ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*, where *γνῶσις* seems to be used as a technical term to denote a certain tendency of doctrine,—a term which reminds us of the post-apostolic age.

§ 187.

What we have now advanced will suffice to show that this epistle presents serious difficulties—much more serious than the other two Pastoral Epistles; difficulties which lead us to conjecture that it may have been written in St. Paul's name, by a later writer, who made use of St. Paul's epistles, and especially of the two other Pastoral Epistles, and partially imitated them. If this conjecture be correct, however, the epistle is not to be classed among the apocryphal writings of a fabulous or heretical character, or as presenting in its contents anything at variance with apostolical doctrine. It did not originate in any of the sects, but within the orthodox Church; and the author must have written with a good purpose in view—in order to counteract the erroneous tendencies prevailing in the Churches in his day: for which reason he adopted the guise of a Pauline epistle, in order to give his words a higher and apostolical authority; and perhaps because those whose views he combats appealed to St. Paul and his epistles,—finding therein a sanction, on the one hand, for antinomianism and contempt or rejection of the law (i. 7–11); and, on the other hand, an approval of celibacy (ii. 15, iv. 1; cf. iii. 2, 12, v. 14). The author seems to oppose a false ascetic tendency which condemned the use, beyond what was absolutely necessary, of God's earthly gifts as sinful (iv. 3, 8, v. 23); and it would appear that in the district where he lived and wrote this asceticism was enjoined by Christian teachers. The author opposes these tendencies,

[1] ELLICOTT, following HAMMOND, takes *τεκνογονία* to refer to the Incarnation, "by the child-bearing."—*Comm. on 1st Tim. in loc.*

and gives many directions and exhortations, especially with reference to Church organization, which were appropriate in his neighbourhood. As to the country in which the letter was written, and the time, we know nothing with any certainty. There is a passage in Polycarp, *ad Phil.* 4 (see above, § 173), which so much resembles 1 Tim. vi. 7, 10, even verbally agreeing with it, that we may with a high degree of probability conclude that Polycarp had our epistle before him, and followed it, so that even he knew our epistle. We may therefore conclude that it was written not later than the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. Baur is certainly wrong when he puts it in the middle of the second century, and thinks that it was written, together with the two other Pastoral Epistles, in opposition to the Marcionite heresy. This is a very improbable assumption.

§ 188.

We have now considered all the Pauline Epistles which the N. T. contains. Of other epistles which have come down to us under St. Paul's name (an apocryphal interchange of letters with the Corinthians), we have already spoken, § 151. Besides these, the following of the same kind may here be named:—

(*a.*) *A Letter of St. Paul to the Laodiceans*, in Latin, found in many MSS. of the Vulgate among the Pauline Epistles, generally after the Colossian epistle. It has often been printed: *e.g.* in Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.* ii. 873–879 (with a Greek translation by Elias Hutter); and lastly, by Anger (*Ueber den Laodicener-Brief*, Leipz. 1843, pp. 155–165). It is a small document, consisting of twenty short verses, a very meagre production, without spirit or point, made up of texts from St. Paul's epistles, especially from that to the Philippians. The Latin is probably the original version of the letter, and it is the same that is mentioned in Muratori's Fragment; in Jerome, *De vir. illustr.* 5; in Theodoret, *ad Col.* iv. 16, and elsewhere. Its composition was suggested by Col. iv. 16.

(*b.*) *Correspondence between St. Paul and Seneca.* This

was first mentioned by Jerome (*De vir. ill.* xii.) and Augustine (Ep. 153, *ad Macedonium*). It is to be found in Fabricius, ii. 892–904, in Latin, in which doubtless it was first written. It consists of fourteen letters or notes—eight from Seneca to St. Paul, six from St. Paul to Seneca. Seneca seems in them to be a warm admirer of St. Paul, interested alike in his letters and in himself personally. Their contents are unimportant, and of their spuriousness there is no doubt.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.[1]

§ 189.

Among the New Testament epistles is one attached to those of St. Paul, though the name of the author is not given, entitled πρὸς Ἑβραίους, *ad Hebræos, to the Hebrews*, which, from early times to our own day, has often been attributed to this apostle. It is described as his not only in the superscription and postscript of many Greek MSS. and the older versions, but occasionally, even in very ancient MSS., is placed among his acknowledged writings. Some of the Fathers suppose the epistle to have been written in Hebrew (*i.e.* Aramæan), and translated into Greek by another hand,[2]—a view which in modern times has to some extent been advocated by the younger Hallet (1727), and more decisively by Michaelis (especially in his *Introduction to the N. T.* § 224–230).

But if it is impossible, as we have seen, to maintain any notion of this kind in respect of Matthew's Gospel, it is emphatically more so in respect of this epistle. The originality of the Greek text is proved by its characteristic

[1] Fr. Bleek, *Der Brief an die Hebräer, erläutert durch Einleitung Uebersetzung und fortlaufenden Commentar: Abthlg.* i. *Versuch einer völlstandigen Einl. in den Brief*, Berl. 1828; *Abthlg.* ii. *Uberst. und Comment. in* 2 *Hälften*, 1836–40.

[2] So Clemens Al. (in his *Hypotyposes*; Euseb. *H.E.* vi. 14), Eusebius, Jerome, Theodoret, etc.; while some of the early Fathers oppose the view. Cf. *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 51.

phraseology and style throughout; the manifestly careful and sometimes complicated structure of its sentences, which could not have been framed directly and simply in Hebrew or Aramæan; and the comparatively pure, select, and elegant Greek terms employed, the meaning of which could not have been set forth in Hebrew or Aramæan except periphrastically, whence it is clear that they are not meant to represent in a translation a Hebrew-Aramæan original, but are due solely to an author who thought and wrote in Greek: *e.g.* i. 1, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως; i. 3, ἀπαύγασμα; v. 2, μετριοπαθεῖν; v. 11, δυσερμήνευτος; xii. 1, εὐπερίστατος, etc. Further, we have numerous paronomasia, as *e.g.* v. 8, ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν; xiii. 14, μένουσαν . . . μέλλουσαν, and many others: in fact, they are so numerous, and here and there so peculiar, that they are sometimes evidently employed of set purpose,—another proof that they are due to a Greek author rather than to a translator of an already existing text in a very different language. Finally, the citation of O. T. passages, whether directly or by way of application and allusion, shows the influence of the LXX., even where that version varies in no unimportant degree from the sense of the Hebrew text, and indeed where the latter would not have allowed the particular passage to be applied as it is in our epistle. (See my *Einl.* § 2–7, pp. 6–23.)

§ 190.

There has always been much more discussion on some other points, especially as to the author of the epistle, and the persons to whom it was primarily addressed. No mention is expressly made of the one or the other in the epistle itself, which begins not, as St. Paul usually does, with an introductory salutation to the readers, but with a simple dogmatic statement; and in its subsequent course neither gives the author's name, nor any hint as to the reason why he wrote. The work, however, certainly has all the characteristics of a letter, though this has sometimes been denied.[1]

[1] Even recently by SCHWEGLER (*Nachap. Zeitalter*, ii. 304) and EBRARD (*Commentar*, Königsb. 1850, p. 10 sq.).

From iii. 1 onwards, the author generally addresses his readers in the second person, teaching and admonishing after the manner usual in other N. T. epistles, and in such a way, too, as to show that he had plainly in mind a particular society of believers, with special faults and needs. Still more definitely does the epistolary character of the work appear towards the close, especially from xiii. 1, where also the writer makes his own personality more distinct. Two points, therefore, are quite clear: (*a*) That the epistle was addressed to a select circle of readers residing in a definite locality; (*b*) that the writer did not wish to conceal himself from his readers, but rather takes it for granted they knew who he was, or could and would do so from the person or persons conveying the epistle to them. Hence we might have expected that, in this way, information on this point would have spread over the whole existing Church contemporaneously with the circulation of the epistle. This, however, does not seem to have been the case, since we find that even in the first centuries there was a variety of opinions upon it, while some do not appear to have known enough to form any opinion at all. Such was then the state of the question as to the author of our epistle, and it is even now-a-days still uncertain. The most general opinion in the Church has been that St. Paul was the author; and in many of the older editions, as well as in many MSS. of the New Testament (but not, however, in the most ancient), he is expressly mentioned as such.

§ 191.

Probably particular expressions bearing on the author's personal circumstances at first sight seem to identify him with Paul. But on a closer scrutiny, we see that these are by no means such as apply only to that apostle, but rather the contrary. It has been inferred from xiii. 18 sq., that at the time of writing the author was in prison,—an inference strongly corroborated by x. 34, if we accept the reading there of the *textus receptus*: *καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου συνεπαθήσατε*. The expression also in xiii. 24*b*, *ἀσπάζονται*

ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, has sometimes been thought to favour Paul's claims. But, first of all, the ἀπό of the latter passage makes it far more likely that the author was living somewhere out of Italy; while in x. 34, it is now almost universally acknowledged that the true reading is τοῖς δεσμίοις. The first of these passages (xiii. 18 sq.) may certainly refer to some imprisonment the writer was undergoing, but it does not inevitably lead to this conclusion; and that it was not any such imprisonment as Paul's at Rome seems quite clear from ver. 23, where he promises to visit his readers in company with Timothy, if the latter should come to him shortly. He must therefore have been at liberty to leave his place of abode, wherever it was. It is true the way in which Timothy is mentioned would lead us to think of St. Paul as the writer, since we know that Timothy was his trusty fellow-labourer and frequent companion. But this alone is not decisive. Even in Paul's lifetime, and still more if our epistle was written after his death, it is possible for some other Christian teacher to have been so intimate with Timothy as earnestly to desire that evangelist's company in any proposed visit. In support of this view, we may notice that the words in xiii. 23, γινώσκετε τὸν ἀδελφὸν (Lach. ἡμῶν) Τιμόθεον ἀπολελυμένον, evidently refer to some imprisonment from which Timothy had been liberated. This imprisonment is supposed to have been well known to the readers, and probably also its termination, for it is better to construe γινώσκετε in the indicative. Hence, as is here implied, we may infer that the occurrence was of some note (as well as its occasion), and also of some duration. We do not, however, read of an imprisonment of Timothy anywhere else in the New Testament, and therefore we may conclude it took place at a time subsequent to that covered by the narratives in the Acts of the Apostles and the composition of St. Paul's epistles, including even 2d Timothy (probably written very shortly before the apostle's death), where we should certainly have expected some reference to it, especially at iii. 10 sqq., and also at i. 8 sqq., ii. 15, iv. 5 (cf. Credner, § 203). When this second epistle was written,

Timothy was not at Rome with the apostle, who entreats him to come to him as soon as possible (cf. iv. 2, 21; cf. i. 4),—a request which we may be sure was complied with. Now, whether on his arrival he found the apostle still living or not, it is at any rate not improbable that, as his friend and fellow-labourer, Timothy was apprehended either at Rome, or, on his journey thither, somewhere in Italy, and kept for some time in prison, but afterwards set free. Under these circumstances, it is pretty plain how intelligence of the fact would spread over the whole Church, and allow the author of our epistle to assume it had come to the ears of his readers, whoever and wherever they might be. This passage, then, furnishes no certain proof that St. Paul wrote it, but rather, taken in connection with the silence of every other part of the N. T. as to the event it records, suggests the conclusion that it was not written till after his death by some other Christian teacher belonging to the Pauline section of the Church.

But it is at ii. 3 that we have the most decisive evidence against the Pauline authorship of this epistle, since the writer there plainly distinguishes himself from such as had heard the word of salvation directly from the Lord, and takes his place among the second generation of Christians; consequently with those who had acquired their knowledge of the gospel mediately through the first disciples. This is quite contrary to St. Paul's plan. That apostle continually guards against the notion that he had received his gospel from the other apostles, or indeed through the medium of men at all. He constantly asserts that it came to him by immediate revelation from the Lord (cf. Gal. i. 1, 11 sq., 15 sqq., ii. 6; 1 Cor. ix. 1, xi. 23; Eph. iii. 2 sq.). He therefore would not have expressed himself as the writer of our epistle does, especially when the connection of the passage easily allowed him to show that the gospel had come to the readers of that generation in a way too trustworthy to permit a doubt of its truth. Unquestionably, too, on such an occasion St. Paul would not have neglected to confirm what he said by a reference to that testimony which the Lord

had vouchsafed to him. Accordingly, Luther, Calvin, Cajetan, and others, have rightly found in this passage a conclusive argument against the hypothesis that Paul or any one of the Lord's personal disciples wrote our epistle; and Ebrard is certainly quite in error when he says (p. 440 sq.) that even Paul would not have expressed himself in other words. The passage shows plainly that the writer never wished to pass himself off as Paul, or one of the first generation of disciples; nor do the passages already noticed by any means warrant such a supposition.

§ 192.

We are also led to decide against the attribution of this epistle to St. Paul, by comparing it, in respect of its whole character, doctrinal contents, method, and language, with Paul's acknowledged epistles. I shall content myself with noticing merely a few points under this head.

a. There is a striking difference between this epistle and those of St. Paul in point of style and language, as some of the Fathers long ago saw. I do not lay so much stress on differences in the way of particular expressions, phrases, and constructions, as on the general characteristics of the style. Our epistle is certainly not altogether free from the Hellenistic peculiarities so prominent in the New Testament writings generally; but, compared with most of them, it is beyond all question written in better Greek, purer and more correct. Origen in his day justly remarked (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25): *Ὅτι ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῆς λέξεως τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιγεγραμμένης ἐπιστολῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου* (2 Cor. xi. 6) . . . *ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως Ἑλληνικωτέρα, πᾶς ὁ ἐπιστάμενος κρίνειν φράσεων διαφορὰς ὁμολογήσαι ἄν.* The epistle is throughout distinguished by accuracy in the position of words, the result, apparently, in very many instances of careful design, and by the regular construction of its sentences. The paragraphs are sometimes arranged in a regular series of premises and conclusions, with parentheses, which yet have a connection with the main topic; while the whole is developed in a regular manner,

without a single anacolouthon. (See *e.g.* ii. 2–4, 14, 15, ix. 13, 14, and especially vii. 20–22 and xii. 18–24.) In this respect it presents the greatest possible contrast with the style exhibited in the epistles of Paul, who, when he lays down some leading proposition at the beginning of a paragraph, apparently intended to evolve it, does not carry it on smoothly according to strict grammatical rule, but frequently joins one proposition to another; or if he retains his hold of and resumes the particular one with which he started, seldom does so in such a way as to make the close agree with the commencement, at least in construction. Hence in this apostle we seldom meet with parentheses strictly so called, at any rate of any length. It is true that very often, before he has fully unfolded the principal thought in some main paragraph, he adds various intermediate paragraphs; but then usually he does not return to complete the construction of the main paragraph, or even once connect his continuation with it, so far as the thought is concerned, but rather with the paragraphs which, strictly speaking, are merely subordinate and secondary. In proof of this, let any compare the passages just cited from the Hebrews with, for example, Rom. v. 12 sqq. Paul's style agrees well with his impetuous and fiery character, which does not allow him in his epistles to think much of rounding and perfecting his periods with strict grammatical accuracy. Very different is it with the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is a work of far more art, and discovers more of conscious painstaking, and a far more constant use of the file, which indeed the author applies from beginning to end, than is usual with St. Paul, or could indeed be at all expected when we bear in mind that apostle's impulsive character. Nor can these differences be explained, as some have thought, by the date of writing, or by the special circumstances of those to whom the epistle was addressed. As regards the first point, if the epistle was written by Paul, it could hardly have been so much later than the latest of his other ones; and then we could not explain the total change in his style, which certainly to a great extent could only have been the result of some revolution

in his character. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive at all how such a style as we meet with in Paul's genuine epistles *could* change into that which we see in this Epistle to the Hebrews. Again, the difference of style could not have been caused by any peculiarities in the position and requirements of very different classes of readers. Whatever opinions may be held as to the persons to whom the epistle was originally addressed, it is almost universally allowed that they were Jews by race, and not Greeks. But if so, it is hard to understand why, in a letter to such persons, Paul should have taken far more pains with his style and diction than he did when writing, for example, to Greeks so highly educated as the Corinthians, his epistles to whom do not differ essentially from those he sent elsewhere, and certainly cannot be brought into the most distant comparison with the Epistle to the Hebrews, while it is in them he himself confesses he is but an ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ (2 Cor. xi. 6). Lastly, these differences cannot be explained by assuming that Paul dictated this epistle to one who knew Greek far better than those whom he employed in the case of his other epistles. If the idiosyncrasies of those to whom he dictated could have so marked an influence on the whole style of an epistle, we should certainly expect to find illustrations of the fact in his various other epistles, where we know he did not always avail himself of the same help, as well as in this to the Hebrews, especially if we brought into the comparison such as were written by his own hand. This, however, is not the case. For example (according to Rom. xvi. 22), he dictated the Epistle to the Romans to one Tertius, who, judging from his name, was not a Jew, while the Epistle to the Galatians was written by himself; yet we cannot detect any essential difference of style between the one and the other, at least nothing like that to be found when we compare these two with the Epistle to the Hebrews.

b. We are led to the same conclusions by the by no means unimportant difference in many ways between our epistle and those of Paul, in the citation of Old Testament passages.

(*a*) We shall notice first the relation which the citations bear

to the Hebrew text and the LXX. In this epistle the Old Testament is regularly quoted (cf. § 189), with the single exception of x. 30, which is from Deut. xxxii. 35 (cf. § 196), according to the LXX., and for the most part with such verbal exactness, especially in the case of the longer passages, as to make it highly probable that the author either turned them up, or had them lying open before him in his codex of the LXX., for the purposes of citation. The words of the LXX. are adhered to, and the argument is to some extent based upon them, though they may differ more or less from the sense of the Hebrew. Even where there are no express citations, but only reminiscences of the Old Testament Scriptures, and allusions to their contents, it is always the expressions of the LXX. which the author has before his mind. It cannot be denied that he seems to have derived all his knowledge of the Old Testament from the LXX., and exhibits hardly a trace of any acquaintance with the original Hebrew text. Very different is it with the Apostle Paul. It is true he, too, usually cites the Old Testament from the LXX.; but he also not unfrequently appeals to the Hebrew text, and either corrects the LXX. by it, or translates it himself into Greek, departing from the LXX. especially when that version is inaccurate, and the variation has a bearing on his argument,—though sometimes also when this is not quite the case. Moreover, Paul allows himself great freedom in his citations, and generally quotes passages according to the sense rather than according to the letter. The difference exhibited by our epistle on this last point is in harmony with its general character—the greater literary care bestowed throughout upon it. But as to the other point of difference, it is not easily explicable on the hypothesis of identity of authorship. We can see from his epistles that the Apostle Paul knew the O. T. Scriptures quite as well in the original text as in the Alexandrian translation; and his use of the latter in most cases was due to the very natural supposition, that his Greek and Hellenistic readers would be better acquainted with it than with the Hebrew. In an epistle, however, such as this to the

Hebrews, written certainly for Jews only, the writer would have no need to keep so much more in the background than is the case in the Pauline Epistles, his knowledge of the original text of the Old Testament. The phenomenon can only be explained on the supposition of an author different from Paul, less skilled in Hebrew and the original text of the Old Testament than the apostle, who had been brought up in a school of learning at Jerusalem. (See further my *Einl.* § 79–81, pp. 338–369.)

(*β*) It is also worth while to notice on this point the difference in the formulæ by which O. T. citations are introduced. In the Hebrews, by far the most usual practice is to describe these citations as the statements or testimonies of *God*—*ὁ Θεὸς λέγει, εἶπεν, εἴρηκεν, λαλεῖ, μαρτυρεῖ*, and the like—whether the word God be expressly mentioned or obviously left to be understood from the context. In this way, even such passages are introduced as speak of God in the third person, and where, therefore, He cannot be regarded as directly the speaker (i. 6, 7, 8, iv. 4, vii. 21, x. 30): we also find twice, *τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον λέγει—μαρτυρεῖ* (iii. 7, x. 15); and twice passages are quoted as direct statements of Christ, the Son of God (ii. 11, 13, x. 5, 8 sq.). It is otherwise with St. Paul. To be sure, he several times quotes O. T. passages as the words of God—*λέγει ὁ Θεός*, and the like; but this is only in passages which, in their position in the O. T. itself, represent God directly as the speaker, and apply the first person to Him (Rom. ix. 15, 25; 2 Cor. vi. 2, 16, 17; Gal. iii. 16), never where this is not the case. Besides, St. Paul very often names the human author as the speaker or writer, especially in his Epistle to the Romans: *Δαυὶδ λέγει, Μωϋσῆς λέγει—γράφει, Ἡσαΐας λέγει—κράζει*; and these even in passages where God Himself is represented as speaking in the first person (Rom. x. 5, 20, 21). Still more usual is it with him to cite a passage as the words or statements of Scripture, never using the formulæ customary in our epistle—*γέγραπται, καθὼς* (*ὡς*) *γέγραπται, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, λέγει ἡ γραφή*; sometimes also with a more definite reference to the part of Scripture where it is to be

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found—γέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, or ἐν τῷ Μωυσέως νόμῳ, λέγει ἡ γραφὴ ἐν Ἠλίᾳ, ὁ νόμος ἔλεγεν, and so on. A difference of this kind cannot be easily explained on the supposition of the Pauline authorship of our epistle. It would seem to be the result of a somewhat different dogmatic position, resting on a stricter idea of the inspiration of the Old Testament, which led the writer to regard and distinguish every separate clause, irrespective of the context, as the very utterance of God, of the Holy Ghost, or even of the Son of God, and not with St. Paul, as utterances of a human writer, or of Scripture in general (see my *Einl.* § 83, pp. 375–381).

(γ) I cannot omit to notice still further, in respect of the citations from the LXX., that Paul's agree chiefly with the readings of the Codex Vaticanus, while those of the Hebrews agree rather with the Codex Alexandrinus. Hence it would seem that the writer of our epistle had before him and used a codex somewhat different from St. Paul's, which points him out to have been a different person.

c. In its doctrinal contents, moreover, and its treatment of various main points and leading ideas, the Epistle to the Hebrews exhibits peculiarities which distinguish it from Paul's acknowledged epistles, and though not indeed exactly contradictions, yet render it probable it was not written by that apostle, but by some other Christian teacher, though unquestionably one connected with the Pauline party, who to some extent developed its principles still further. Under this head we may refer to the treatment of the conception involved in the word πίστις, and its antithetical relation to ἔργα, also justification by faith; the special prominence given to Christ's death as that of a high priest sacrificially expiating sin; the significance attached to the Saviour's resurrection; the contrast instituted between the old covenant and the new, with the proofs of the antiquated character of the former, and all its laws and institutions, even for the Jews; the omission of all notice of the Gentiles in relation to the chosen people of God, and other points (see my *Einl.* § 72–74, pp. 303–315).

d. There is also another fact which bears against the

notion that Paul wrote this epistle. In ix. 1 sqq. the writer treats of the chief arrangements within the Jewish temple. Much inaccuracy is to be found, however, in what he says; *e.g.* that the altar of incense belonged to the holy of holies, whereas it stood in the holy place, and the like. Nor is it less remarkable that his description in the main follows the account given in the Pentateuch of the various regulations of the tabernacle, the writer apparently supposing these to apply equally to Herod's temple in his own day; quite contrary to fact, for we know that in Herod's temple the ark of the covenant, with its appurtenances, was altogether wanting (see *Einl.* § 84, p. 381 sqq., and *Commentar*, *in loco*). Now it is not likely that Paul, who had lived so long at Jerusalem, and had been brought up in the school of the Pharisees there, should have been so little acquainted with the temple and its ritual as the writer of this epistle seems to be. Hence we are led to conclude he must have been some other writer, who, if ever in Jerusalem or Judea at all, had not stopped for any length of time, or, at any rate, received his religious education there.

§ 193.

It has sometimes been alleged, and even very recently, that the external history of the Church decidedly favours the Pauline authorship; since it shows that from its very first reception the epistle must have been regarded as one of Paul's writings. But an unprejudiced consideration would rather lead to quite an opposite conclusion (see my *Einl.* § 21–62, pp. 82–242, and § 85, pp. 387–392). I shall, however, at present notice only the few following points. We certainly find at an early period clear proofs that the epistle was received and used in the Church. CLEMENT of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, unquestionably avails himself of it, repeatedly imitating in several places whole passages, and adopting its ideas and expressions (especially, *e.g.*, ch. xvii., cf. Heb. xi. 37; ch. xxxvi., cf. Heb. i. 3 sqq.). But direct quotations from the epistle are not to be found in him; and hence he had no occasion to mention the author's name, even

if he had any knowledge at all on that point. It is utterly incorrect to assert, with Guericke (even in his 2d ed. p. 407), that Clement quotes several passages from the epistle, and appeals to it as holy Scripture; or to assume, with others, that the use he makes of it proves the epistle to have been known to him and the Churches of his day as possessed of apostolical authority. All we can say is, that Clement knew and valued its contents, much of which he found suited to his purpose, and therefore adopted. Many learned men have also imagined they saw another ancient witness to the Pauline origin of our epistle in 2 Pet. iii. 15. But, apart from the fact that the author and date of 2d Peter itself, as we shall see, are very uncertain, the passage now quoted is not by any means so strictly applicable to our epistle as to make it probable the writer had it in his mind. Far more probably he was referring to some apocryphal writing which went under Paul's name, and is now lost (see my *Einl.* pp. 82–89).

Passing over these instances, then, we find that the earliest who received this epistle as apostolical, and written by St. Paul, belonged to the Church of Alexandria. As such it was probably regarded by Pantænus (according to Clemens Al. in Eusebius, vi. 14), and Clemens Alex. himself; and Origen repeatedly quotes passages from it in Paul's name. Clemens Alex.,[1] however, believes it was written in Hebrew by Paul, and translated into Greek by Luke, and tries to explain, as Pantænus does in another way, the omission of Paul's name from the introduction. It is not clear, however, whether these Fathers simply came to their conclusions from a comparison of this epistle with those known to have been written by St. Paul, or were led to them by the fact that within the circle of their own Christian associates there was another

[1] In Eusebius, *ut supra:* Καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους δὲ ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου μὲν εἶναί φησι, γεγράφθαι δὲ Ἑβραίοις Ἑβραϊκῇ Φωνῇ, Λουκᾶν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ὅθεν τὸν αὐτὸν χρῶτα εὑρίσκεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ταύτης τε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν πράξεων· μὴ προγεγράφαι δὲ τό· Παῦλος ἀπόστολος εἰκότως. Ἑβραίοις γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐπιστέλλων πρόληψιν εἰληφόσι κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν αὐτὸν συνετῶς οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀπέστρεψεν αὐτοὺς τὸ ὄνομα θείς.

opinion adverse to its Pauline origin, and appealing to its very different style and manner. Very probably the latter is the truth, especially if we bear in mind Origen's remark (Eusebius, vi. 25; cf. § 245). He says, after noticing that the epistle was written in better Greek than Paul's, that nevertheless in respect of its matter it is not inferior to the acknowledged apostolical writings, being in his opinion indebted for its argument to Paul, but for its style and finish to some disciple who jotted down his master's ideas, and then drew them out still further, and wove them together into a sort of commentary. He adds, that if any Church (*εἴ τις οὖν ἐκκλησία*) looked upon the epistle as one of Paul's, he would not blame them, since a tradition not altogether unfounded bore the same testimony; yet who really did write it, God alone knew, for tradition favoured on the one hand Clement of Rome, on the other Luke, the writer of the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. Owing, no doubt, to some omission in the quotation by Eusebius, these remarks of Origen are not very clear, and they have been variously interpreted. I remark: (*a.*) It is not correct to understand, as some have done, by *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες οὐκ εἴκῃ ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παραδεδώκασιν*, that the early writers *unanimously* regarded Paul as the author of our epistle; for such a position Origen certainly could not have taken up, especially in respect of the West (*vid. infra*). Undoubtedly, by *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες*, Origen meant that some early writers in particular regarded and described the epistle as Paul's, and handed down a tradition to this effect, very probably referring it to some of the Alexandrians, as *e.g.* Pantænus and Clement. The phrase *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες* is to be taken comparatively, and need not be understood, with Hug, of men who immediately followed the apostles, or with Tholuck, of such as lived at the beginning of the second century. Had there been any older writers expressly testifying to Paul as the author of our epistle, we may be sure they would have been known to Eusebius, who has brought together so much matter of this kind, and would hardly have failed to specify them along with the rest. He

does not, however, do anything of the kind. (*b.*) When Origen says, *τίς ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολήν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς Θεὸς οἶδεν*, it is plain, if we bear in mind what he says before, that he means it is uncertain which of Paul's disciples it was who developed his master's ideas in this epistle; while it is also clear, from the manner in which he sets forth this notion, that he himself was the first to suggest and vindicate it, in order to reconcile the two different views, one of which made Paul, while the other made some other Christian teacher, the author of this epistle. (*c.*) Hence it is altogether incorrect to understand, with Hug and others, Origen's remark, "The tradition handed down to us teaches that, according to some Clement of Rome, according to others Luke, was the author of our epistle," as simply referring to the person who merely recorded the apostle's ideas on paper. Quite as little could he have meant by them to allude to the translator who rendered the epistle into Greek from the apostle's Hebrew or Aramæan original; for of such he certainly would not have said, *ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολήν*. The truth seems to be, that, besides the view which attributed the epistle to Paul, Origen found another referring it to Clemens Romanus or Luke. Both views were of early date, for the expression *ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία* refers, no doubt, to the second as well as to the first; and both were probably held in Origen's own part of the world, at least in the Greek Church, just as, in fact, in another place (*Ep. ad Africanum*, ix.), he expressly speaks of some who denied that the epistle was due to Paul (*τῶν ἀθετούντων τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς οὐ Παύλῳ γεγραμμένην*): and thus it seems to have occurred to him to attempt to reconcile both views in the way above mentioned, as Clemens Al. before him had tried to do, though in a different manner. There can be no doubt that the belief that Paul wrote this epistle was by far the most usual in the Alexandrian Church even in the second half of the second century, and that it became still more general after Origen's time, since we find all the succeeding Alexandrian and Egyptian Fathers generally appealing unhesitatingly to it as Paul's (see my *Einl.* § 32–36). In the other Churches, even after the middle of

the third century, we nowhere find the epistle quoted and used as an apostolical document written by St. Paul. In the Greek Church, however, at the beginning of the fourth century, it must have been so regarded by all or nearly all, as indeed it always had been in this Church, except so far as most of the Arians were concerned. On the other hand, the phenomena presented by the whole Western, and especially by the Roman, Church in relation to this epistle are most unfavourable to St. Paul as the author. As far as the Churches of Gaul are concerned, our only authority is Irenæus. In his work *adversus Hæreses* this Father makes use of Paul's epistles (with the exception of that to Philemon), and repeatedly quotes them under his name. But he never quotes a single passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is inexplicable if he had really regarded it as possessed of apostolical authority, since it would have furnished him with much appropriate material in the controversy which, in the work referred to, he carries on with the Valentinians and other Gnostics. It is true that, according to Eusebius (v. 26),[1] in another work now lost, *βιβλίον διαλέξεων διαφόρων*, he has mentioned our epistle, and quoted from it. Still, taking Eusebius' own statement, it is highly probable Irenæus did not attribute the passage he quotes to the Apostle Paul. According to an expression of Stephen Gobarus (sixth cent., in Photius, *Bibl. cod.* 232; ed. Bekker, p. 291), Irenæus (as also his disciple Hippolytus) must have denied that our epistle was written by St. Paul,[2]—a point on which, however, nothing more definite is known to us. With regard to the Church in proconsular Africa, we have an important witn essfor the period now referred to in Tertullian, for whom the epistle must have had a special interest, inasmuch as part of it (vi. 4–8) seems to furnish the strongest argument for the doctrine which, as a Montanist, he held on the

[1] Βιβλίον τι διαλέξεων διαφόρων, ἐν ᾧ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης Σοφίας Σολομῶντος μνημονεύει, ῥητά τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν παραθέμενος.

[2] Ὅτι Ἱππόλυτος καὶ Εἰρηναῖος τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου, οὐκ ἐκείνου εἶναί φασιν.

treatment of the lapsed. He even quotes this passage on behalf of that doctrine (*de pudic.* 20); yet, important as it was for him, with the use he makes of it, to claim for the epistle to which it belongs the highest possible authority, he never speaks of it as the work of an apostle, but rather as that *comitis apostolorum*, which therefore was not in itself conclusive, yet deserved respectful consideration, since from the disciple's doctrine we might infer the master's. In fact, he expressly speaks of the epistle as written by Barnabas.[1] Besides this passage, Tertullian nowhere expressly quotes from the epistle, often as he does so from Paul's epistles generally. That he did not regard it as written by Paul is plain, from his not objecting to its exclusion from Marcion's Canon.[2] Even in the middle of the third century the apostolical authority of our epistle was not universally recognised in proconsular Asia, as we see clearly from the writings of Cyprian (*ob.* 258; see my *Einl.* § 47). Just as little was it recognised in the Roman Church, to which belongs the Fragment of the Canon published by Muratori, the probable date of which is the end of the second or beginning of the third century. In this document the collective epistles of Paul are referred to, and two additional ones, *ad Laodicenses* and *ad Alexandrinos;* but the Epistle to the Hebrews is not mentioned, though some have supposed it to be meant by the *Epistola ad Alexandrinos.* This, however, is very unlikely: at any rate, the Fragment shows plainly that in its day our epistle was not recognised as of apostolical authority. To the same period belongs the Roman Presbyter Caius, of whom Eusebius tells us that, in a discussion at Rome with Proclus, a Montanist, he spoke of thirteen epistles of Paul,

[1] *Volo autem ex redemdantia alicujus etiam comitis apostolorum testimonium superinducere idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam magistrorum. Exstat enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos, adeo satis auctoritatis viri, ut quem Paulus juxtu de constituerit in abstinentiæ tenore: "Aut ego solus et Barnabas non habemus hoc operandi potestatem?" Et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabæ illo apocrypho Pastore moechorum (i.e. Pastor Hermæ), etc.*

[2] He expressly censures the exclusion of the Pastoral Epistles. *Vid. supra*, § 166.

excluding the Hebrews,[1]—no doubt in this following the practice of the Church at Rome, of which he was a presbyter. At a somewhat later date we have Novatian, whose party held, in common with the Montanists, a very strong view against the restoration of the lapsed, for which they found some support, as far as regards the New Testament, principally in our epistle (vi. 1–8, x. 26 sq.); so that this writer would have a special interest in giving prominence to its teaching. Yet in such of his works as have come down to us, no use whatever is made of it, though the writer had many occasions for doing so. Indeed, in general, in all the controversies carried on at that day on the treatment of the *lapsi*, our epistle would seem never to have been referred to even at Rome, any more than in proconsular Asia; which could hardly have been, had its apostolical character and authority been generally recognised. Only after the middle of the fourth century did it become usual in the Western Church to rank the epistle among those of the Apostle Paul. This, however, was only done by individual writers, especially such as were brought into contact with the Greek Fathers, and on this point followed their lead. Still, Jerome and Augustine[2] confess that even in their day the common practice was to omit the epistle from St. Paul's; and traces

[1] Τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποστόλου δεκατριῶν μόνων ἐπιστολῶν μνημονεύει τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους μὴ συναριθμήσας ταῖς λοιπαῖς· ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισὶν οὐ νομίζεται τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἶναι. Cf. JEROME, *de vir. illustr.* 59.

[2] JEROME, *de viris illustr. ut supra: Sed et apud Romanos usque hodie quasi Pauli apostoli non habetur. Comment. in Matt.* xxvi.: *Nam et Paulus in epistola sua quæ scribitur ad Hebræos, licet de ea multi Latinorum dubitent. Ep.* 129 *ad Dardanum: Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab ecclesiis Orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus quasi Pauli apostoli suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ vel Clementis arbitrentur; et nihil interesse, cujus sit, cum ecclesiastici viri sit et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur. Quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas, nec Græcarum quidem ecclesiæ Apocalypsin Joannis eadem libertate suscipiunt; et tamen nos utraque suscipimus, nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum auctoritatem sequentes, qui plerumque utriusque abutuntur testimoniis, non ut interdum de apocryphis facere solent sed quasi canonicis.*

of this antagonism to his authorship are to be found down to a much later time (cf. § 250).

§ 194.

Even if we look simply at what is suggested by the history of the epistle in the Church, we cannot deny that there is little to favour the notion that we owe it to St. Paul. We have already remarked (§ 190), that though the author does not give his name, he has manifestly no intention of concealing himself from those to whom he was writing. Now, if he were a man so distinguished as the Apostle Paul, the fact would have been known from the very first, and would certainly have spread with the circulation of the epistle, instead of being forgotten, as it must have been, judging from the evidence we now have, at any rate, in the whole of the Western Church. The testimony of the Church at Rome is of special importance here. From among them, and in their name, somewhere about the close of the first century, Clement, who was their bishop, and who had been a companion of Paul (Phil. iv. 3), wrote his epistle to the Corinthians, where he makes such frequent use of our epistle, plainly showing that he knew and valued it. Yet he could hardly have looked upon it as written by Paul, or he would not have omitted to recommend it to his own Church at Rome, to whom it, with its author, must have been known from the very first, as those who identify the latter with Paul usually assume it had been written by that apostle during his final imprisonment. Thus, then, the opposition between the Roman and the Eastern Churches on this question is a phenomenon which, if Paul really wrote the epistle, cannot be explained in any very simple and natural way; for the notion put forth with various modifications by Hug, H. E. G. Paulus, and others, that even at Rome the epistle was originally regarded as Paul's, and only denied to be such at a later time on purely dogmatic grounds, is not only incapable of proof, but in the highest degree improbable. The testimony of the Greek, and especially of the Alexandrian Church, is certainly more favourable to the

Pauline authorship. Still it is incorrect to argue, as some have done, that it was uniform and unopposed from the first throughout the East. On the whole, therefore, we may look upon it as pretty well established, that at first no definite tradition as to the author of our epistle was connected with its early general use in the Church,—a fact intelligible only if the work really proceeded not from Paul, but from some other Christian teacher occupying a more subordinate position. The notion that it was Paul's might easily spring up here and there at a later time; the mention of Timothy, together with other personal allusions at the close, leading naturally at first sight to that conclusion. If, however, this had really been the case, it is inexplicable that in the whole Western, and especially in the Roman Church, the true state of the case should have been so utterly unknown, or rather so utterly misapprehended.

§ 195.

There is as little ground for assuming that the epistle was written by one of Paul's companions and disciples in his name, and at his command. We are not here alluding, however, to Origen's notion, that in our epistle one of Paul's disciples has developed his master's ideas in a sort of commentary; for it is not clear from Origen's own words that he meant to say this was done with the apostle's knowledge, or at his command, and in his name, though he has often been understood to say something of the sort (see my *Einl.* p. 393, note), even by very recent writers. Passing him over, therefore, we find it said by others that Paul entrusted the drawing up of our epistle to one of his friends, and then sent it off in his own name; so that he is to be regarded throughout as the speaker to whom also the personal allusions at its close refer. This is Delitzsch's view (*Zeitschr. f. Luther. Theol.* 1849, ii., and *Commentar über d. Br.*, Leipz. 1857), and also Guericke's, who thinks that Paul probably added the epilogue. We have, however, already seen (§ 191), that on a closer examination the personal references are not at all such as apply to Paul; and

this, too, is equally decisive against Thiersch's purely arbitrary opinion (*Programme* issued at Marburg 1847, *De Epistola ad Hebræos*), that Paul and Barnabas wrote the epistle in common, the chief part being due to Barnabas, who consented to the addition of the conclusion by Paul, who in this way adopted the whole document. Not less improbable is a view put forth by Olshausen (in 2 *Programmes*, Königsb. 1829, 1831, reprinted in his *Opusc. Theol.* 1834, pp. 81–122, *De auctore Ep. ad Hebr.*) and Ebrard, that the personal allusions at the close refer to the person who drew up the epistle in Paul's name, and at his command; and consequently *there*, though not in the rest of the epistle, he (Ebrard expressly points him out as Luke) is to be regarded as the speaker. There is not the slightest hint that the speaker at the close is a different person from the one in the other parts of the epistle; and it is merely capricious and unnatural to suppose, as Olshausen does, that some information on this point was communicated in a document sent with our epistle by way of appendix. No doubt the personal allusions at the close point to some one closely connected with St. Paul, but they are best explained by fixing the date of the epistle at some time subsequent to that apostle's death. Still, even if we allow some other person to have written and sent the epistle in Paul's name, there is nothing at all to justify or require our assuming that he did so with the apostle's sanction. As for the other hypothesis, that Paul entrusted the drawing up of an epistle so important and comprehensive as this to some fellow-labourer, and then sent it off in his own name, I simply remark that it is on the face of it altogether improbable. Besides, those for whom the epistle was intended were evidently persons of a strongly Judaizing and anti-Pauline temper; and it certainly would not at all have conduced to their reception of it, to know that it came from Paul, or one of the Pauline party. Hence, even if it had been written by some other Christian teacher, and during Paul's life, there would have been no need of showing that the apostle himself had had anything to do with its origin. For the same reason, it

is not at all likely that any late writer intending to forge such an epistle as this in the name of some apostle, would have chosen Paul's, and not much rather Peter's or James'. This view, according to which the personal allusions at the close are fictitiously introduced to give a Pauline hue to the epistle, has been maintained by several modern critics; *e.g.* De Wette in his first edition, p. 294, though he retracted it in the subsequent editions (see against him, my *Einl.* p. 26 sq., note); then Baumgarten-Crusius in a Whitsuntide Programme (*De origine ep. ad Hebr. conjecturæ*), which, however, he did not include in his *Opuscula*, not feeling any longer certain as to the view it set forth; lastly by Schwegler (*Nachap. Zeitalter*, ii. 312) and Zeller (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1842, p. 64). But if the epistle really originated in this way, the forger would surely have introduced far more numerous and express personal allusions directly pointing to the apostle. The truth, however, is, that throughout the epistle there is nothing to justify such an assumption, which is, in fact, utterly improbable in itself, especially if we bear in mind the comparatively early date of the epistle—before the destruction of Jerusalem, and but a few years after Paul's death. We may therefore look upon it as certain, that a Christian teacher, distinct from the apostle, wrote and despatched the epistle in his own name.

§ 196.

In answering the question, *Who was the author?* we are really thrown wholly upon internal evidence; for the statements of the early writers make it evident that they neither held the same opinion, nor followed any common tradition respecting the epistle connected with its reception by the Church, but merely gave their own conjectures. We cannot, therefore, hope to settle the question with certainty, and beyond all dispute. Still I believe it is possible, by collecting all we know, to give a probable and satisfactory answer.

1. From what has been already said, it seems at any rate quite clear that the author was not one of the apostles, or of our Lord's immediate personal disciples. Not less certain are we, however, on many grounds, of his intimate connec-

tion with the Apostle Paul. It is true he does not appear to be altogether dependent upon and subordinate to that apostle; for, when compared with the Pauline epistles, this to the Hebrews is distinguished by no common degree of originality in its argument and method, besides having much that is peculiar in its ideas and expositions. At the same time, it unquestionably exhibits a close affinity with the Pauline epistles not only in its general views, but even in particular thoughts, figures, and expressions. Hence a certain dependence on Paul, combined with a further development of his doctrine, cannot be denied. Indeed, it may safely be assumed that the author was, to some extent at least, acquainted with the Pauline epistles, and adopted much from them, which accounts for the resemblance between them and his.[1] It can hardly be regarded as accidental that the Old Testament citation at x. 30 from Deut. xxxii. 35, varying as it does from the LXX., and yet not agreeing literally with the Hebrew text, should read exactly as Rom. xii. 19. The author, who usually adheres so strictly to the LXX. in his Old Testament citations, doubtless in this case followed Paul. If we add that, according to xiii. 23, he must have been very intimate with Timothy—for so many years Paul's faithful companion and friend—we are justified in concluding that he himself was one of that apostle's party, and closely associated with him.

2. Judging from its contents, and the fact that it was intended evidently for societies or Churches, there can be no doubt that, when he wrote it, the author held no ordinary position, at least in one portion of the Church; and since, as we shall see, it was written in all probability only some few years after St. Paul's death, we may be pretty sure that even during that apostle's life he held no mean place as a Christian teacher, being probably one of those mentioned

[1] Recently, KÖSTLIN (*Theol. Jahrbb.* 1853, 1854), RITSCHL (*Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, 2. Aufl. p. 159 sqq.), WEISS (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1859, i. p. 142 sqq.), RIEHM (p. 861 sqq.), have asserted for the author a greater doctrinal independence of St. Paul, regarding his epistle as a development of the original Judæo-Christianity.

in the Acts and Paul's epistles among the apostle's friends and fellow-labourers. Within this circle it was that those early writers who did not admit Paul to be the author looked for him; their choice lying between Luke, Clemens Romanus, and Barnabas, to whom, in modern times, have been added Sylvanus and Apollos; and it can hardly be doubted that the author was certainly one or other of these.

§ 197.

On a close scrutiny, the evidence lies strongly in favour of Apollos, while there is much which bears against the other four.

(*a.*) Luke is named by Clemens Alex. only as the translator of an epistle written in Hebrew by Paul. Origen, however, agrees with those who attribute the sole authorship of the epistle to him, as also does Grotius. Hug, Delitzsch, Ebrard, Davidson, Guericke (ed. 2), regard him as most probably the person who drew up the epistle in the name and at the command of Paul, and on the basis of his ideas. They appeal to the similarity between the style and diction of the epistle and that of Luke's acknowledged writings, especially the Acts of the Apostles. This, however, is by no means so close as necessarily to point out identity of origin, while the nationality of the real author is decidedly opposed to Luke's claims. Luke certainly was not a Jew either by birth or by subsequent adoption through circumcision (Col. iv. 11, 14; cf. *ut supra*, § 49); whereas it is universally allowed that in our epistle the speaker—who, as as we have seen, must have been identical with the author and writer—was one of the believing party among the Jews. This is plain from i. 1, where those to whom the revelations of the old covenant were vouchsafed are simply described as *οἱ πατέρες*; and xi. 2, where pious believers under the old covenant are called *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*; and from many other circumstances, as well as from the whole character of the work.

(*b.*) Besides Luke, Origen mentions Clemens Romanus as one to whom previous writers had attributed this epistle; and he is specially favoured by Erasmus; Calvin likewise mentions him in conjunction with Luke. But the objection

to Luke applies equally against Clement, who also was probably a Gentile Christian; and still more decisive against him is a comparison of the only genuine epistle of his to the Corinthians which has come down to us with this to the Hebrews. In that we find numerous reminiscences of this, and hence the attribution of both to the same author. The use, however, which Clement makes of our epistle shows clearly that he did not write it, but found it ready to hand, and highly valued it as the work of another Christian teacher. Besides, both epistles generally exhibit too much dissimilarity in tone and manner to have proceeded from the same author This is now generally admitted.

(*c.*) In our own day the epistle has been claimed for Barnabas, especially by Ullmann[1] and Wieseler; and this view is favoured by John Cameron, J. E. Ch. Schmidt, Twesten,[2] Thiersch, and Adalb. Maier. Among the Fathers, Tertullian (*de pudic.* 20; *vid. ut supra*, § 193) attributes the epistle to Barnabas as if it were a well-known fact. Still we do not find any clear proof that elsewhere, and independently of Tertullian, this opinion prevailed to any extent, even in proconsular Africa. Jerome himself (*de viris illustr.* 5) seems to have known it only from Tertullian. Indeed, the statement appears to be an accidental oversight on Tertullian's own part, arising from a confusion between the Epistle to the Hebrews and another under the name of Barnabas,[3] the tone of which is very similar, except that it is far stronger in its

[1] ULLMANN, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1828, ii. pp. 377–399; WIESELER, *Chronologie*, p. 504 sqq., and *Eine Untersuchung über d. Hebräerbr., Erste Hälfte*, Kiel 1861.

[2] *Dogmatik*, 1 B. 4 Aufl. p. 95, and in *Piper's Evang. Kal.* 1856, p. 43 sqq.

[3] Cf. *Einl. in d. Br. an die Hebr.* pp. 112 sq., 413 sqq. (especially note, 523), where the author inclines to the same supposition, though less decidedly. A witness in favour of Barnabas is found by CREDNER (*Gesch. d. N. T. Kan.* p. 175 sqq.), WIESELER (*Untersuchung*, p. 32), and A. MAIER (in the preface to his Commentary) in the list of στίχοι in the *Codex Claromontanus*, assigned by CREDNER to the third century, where they understand by the *Barnabæ Epistola* there mentioned, this Epistle to the Hebrews.

reprobation of attachment to the letter of mere Jewish tradition, which it strives to spiritualize by the aid of allegorical interpretation. Still it differs very decidedly in language, method, and entire character, and is so inferior, that most critics now admit it could not be the work of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is indeed highly probable that, in spite of some ancient testimonies in its favour, this so-called Epistle of Barnabas was not really written by that evangelist, for in several places the author tells us he was not a Jew. Hence it is useless to compare it with our epistle, in order to determine whether or no Barnabas wrote the latter. What we know of him, however, from other sources, furnishes no ground for the supposition that he did. What is told us, for instance, in the Acts of his relation to Paul in the missionary journey they undertook together, would by no means lead us to suppose he surpassed his colleague in elegance of diction, and oratorical dignity and versatility; for Paul appears to have been the chief speaker, especially among the Greeks, and hence at Lystra he was taken for Hermes (Acts xiv. 12). To this we may add, that though Barnabas was born at Cyprus, he seems to have had his home at Jerusalem (Acts xiv. 36, 37, ix. 27, xi. 22), and also to have been a Levite. We may therefore presume he had a more accurate knowledge of the existing condition of the Jewish temple than appears in our epistle.

(*d.*) The same reason holds good against Silas (or Sylvanus). He is not named by any of the Fathers in reference to our epistle, and has only been thought of in modern times by such as Böhme (*Ep. ad Hebr. latine vertit atque comment. instruxit perpetuo*, Leipz. 1825) and Mynster (*Kleine theol. Schftn.*, Kop. 1825, and *Stud. u. Krit.* 1829, ii.), both of whom came to the same conclusion independently, by processes differing from one another, but equally groundless.

[1] In his *Einl.* p. 416 sqq. *Note.*—The author inclines much more to the authenticity of this epistle.

[2] Riehm (*Jahrbeg. d. Hebrbr.*, 2 Hälften, Ludwigsb. 1858–59), though he professes not to rely on suppositions, chiefly favours the Silas and Apollos hypothesis, both of which he thinks equally probable.

A decisive argument against Sylvanus, however, is, that he belonged to the Judæo-Christian Church at Jerusalem, where he had long lived (Acts xv. 22); so that in his case too we should expect a more accurate knowledge than our epistle exhibits of the order of the Jewish temple.

§ 198.

(*e.*) None of the early writers speak of Apollos as the author or person who drew up our epistle. Luther was the first, as far as we know, who put forth this view, which, though originating with him, spread even in his day beyond the bounds of the Lutheran Church. Several theologians at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and subsequently, supported it. I have already given my verdict in its favour (*ut supra*, § 91), and others have done the same; *e.g.* Tholuck, Credner,[1] Bunsen, Reuss, and recently Lünemann[2] especially. We have no other writings of Apollos to compare with it; but in the Acts of the Apostles (xviii. 24–28), and in St. Paul's epistles, we have sundry allusions to him and his labours, not indeed complete, but very distinct, which correspond closely with the character the Epistle to the Hebrews would lead us to attribute to its author. Apollos was a Jew of Alexandria, who (according to Acts xviii. 24 sqq.) came to Ephesus at the time when Aquila and Priscilla were staying there: it is said he knew only the baptism of John, and his relation to Christianity is not very clear; but he seems to have regarded himself as a member of the Christian society. Deeper and more accurate instruction, however, in the gospel he first received from the friends of Paul just mentioned; and therefore his construction and exhibition of evangelical doctrine, and especially of the relation of the new covenant and its precepts to the institutions of the old, would naturally be modelled upon the Pauline type. This is confirmed by his subsequent history, where we find him labouring in such districts as had first heard the gospel from Paul—in Achaia,

[1] So also formerly EWALD (*Jahrb.* ii. 226), who, however, now (*Gesch. Isr.* vi. 638) thinks the author was a member of the Church at Jerusalem.

[2] Abth. xiii. of MEYER'S *Commentar*, 1855.

especially at Corinth, whither he went from Ephesus (Acts xviii. 27 sq., xix. 1; 1 Cor. i.–iv., iii. 6, "I have planted, Apollos watered;" Clemens, *ad Corinth.* 47); then again at Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 12); and lastly, probably in Crete (according to Tit. iii. 13). On the other hand, his position does not seem to have been one of entire subordination to Paul, during whose life even he must have laboured more apart and independently on behalf of the gospel than was usual with the apostle's fellow-labourers, *e.g.* Timothy, Titus, or even Sylvanus. This is shown by his refusal to return to Corinth, notwithstanding Paul's wish and command (1 Cor. xvi. 12); and still more by the state of things in the Corinthian Church itself, where, besides the parties of Paul and Peter, there was a third calling itself by his name. The persons composing this party seem to have been drawn to him, and to have preferred him to Paul, because his expositions and discussions were distinguished by more polish and a more oratorical style of delivery, which apparently influenced and convinced many, who felt scarcely satisfied with the apostle's homelier and simpler preaching (cf. § 147). In harmony with this, we find Apollos described in the Acts (xviii. 24) as ἀνὴρ λόγιος, "an eloquent man," which would well suit the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, differing so much as it does from Paul's epistles in its rhetorical style, and more elegant and ornate diction, as well as in the greater elaborateness of its composition. Nor is it less an evidence in favour of Apollos that he was a man of Alexandria, and "mighty in the Scriptures,"—an epithet which must not be understood simply to imply intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures (of the Old Testament), but also skill in discovering and applying their meaning,—a peculiarity exhibited by the author of our epistle in a very high degree. It must be almost obvious from all this, that Apollos was not merely an Alexandrian Jew by birth (τῷ γένει), but by education also, having received his instruction in the Scriptures principally in the theological school of the Alexandrian Jews, where he would find special inducements to cultivate the faculty, so conspicuous in members of this school, of dis-

covering in the expressions and prescriptions of Old Testament Scripture a deeper sense lying beneath the veil of the letter,—a faculty, doubtless, contributing to the acceptance of his instruction by many at Corinth. Now this is one of the most signal gifts of the author of our epistle, who, as we have seen, certainly never, if we may judge from his defective knowledge of the existing arrangements of the temple at Jerusalem, lived in Palestine. This defective knowledge is best explained on the hypothesis that the Jewish author of our epistle received his education not at Jerusalem, but at Alexandria, since of all the Jews of the dispersion those of Egypt displayed the least interest and attachment for the temple at Jerusalem. This was owing partly to their more idealistic tone of mind, and partly to their having a temple of their own, built exactly after the model of that at Jerusalem, under the direction of the exiled Jewish priest Onias, in the time of Ptolemy Philometer (B.C. 180–145). This conclusion is corroborated by the following facts, each of which may not be quite decisive, however, when taken alone: —(1.) The comparative purity and correctness of the language of our epistle, and the more rhetorical elegance of its style; the Jews nowhere so much as in Alexandria applying themselves to the grammatico-philological and rhetorical studies of the Greeks. (2.) The author, though displaying so much capacity for philological studies, seems to have known the holy Scriptures of his own nation only in a Greek translation, and not in the original text. (3.) And specially, the resemblance which in some points the epistle bears to Philo, with whom it has ideas, and even words, in common, sufficient to suggest the inference that the author had read at least some of Philo's writings (see my *Einl.* p. 398 sqq., note; and *Commentar*, *ad* iv. 12, p. 570 sqq.). This inference is very probable, if the author had been bred and born in the same country as Philo, since his attention would then be much more easily drawn to the writings of his fellow-countrymen than if he had been born in a very different region, and brought up in a very different school. It is, moreover, worth notice that, in Acts xviii. 27 sq., Apollos

is spoken of as having been very useful to the believers in Achaia, because it is expressly stated he "convinced the Jews, showing from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ." For even this trait, that he occupied himself chiefly with arguing against and refuting the Jews, especially by his interpretations of Scripture, exactly suits the author of our epistle, whose exclusive aim is, as we shall see, by references to the prophecies and types of their sacred Scriptures, and the regulations of their own temple, to convince of their error those of the believing Jews who still showed a rigid attachment to Jewish traditions. Further, if our epistle was written by Apollos, this, as Tholuck has rightly remarked, would go far to explain the use which at so early a time Clement made of it in his Epistle to the Corinthians; since we can easily see how this Christian teacher, connected as he was with the Church at Corinth, might have been closely associated with Apollos, whose labours in that sphere had been so conspicuous, and whom he himself describes (*ut supra*, ch. xlvii.) as an *ἄνδρα παρὰ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις δεδοκιμασμένον*. Lastly, we may remark that, in spite of its polemical tone in reference to a rigid attachment to Judaism, not one word is said throughout our epistle on the share the Gentiles had in the kingdom of God. Very possibly this is due to the peculiar organization of the communities to whom it was originally addressed. Still, in an epistle of such compass, and with the rest of its contents before us, it is not easy to understand its silence on this point, if the author was one of those Christian teachers who, like Paul and Barnabas, had engaged perseveringly in the work of converting the Gentiles; while all is plain if he were such a one as Apollos, who laboured chiefly among the Jews. Thus everything seems to favour the hypothesis that Apollos wrote our epistle. No doubt need arise in our minds because none of the early Fathers mention him in any such connection, since we are sure they were wrong in all the conjectures they did venture upon; for their statements were nothing but conjectures, and did not rest on any special tradition belonging to the time when the epistle began to be used in the Church. At any rate,

there is as high a degree of probability as is possible in favour of Apollos, considering that we have to do with a work the origin of which is connected with no trustworthy tradition, and with an author of whom we possess no other works which we can use for the purposes of comparison.

§ 199.

The question, *To whom was the epistle originally addressed?* has been a matter of scarcely less controversy than that other as to the author. No express statement on this point is made in the epistle; still I think the title leads us to the right answer. This reads πρὸς Ἑβραίους, which is uniformly found in the MSS. of the Greek text as well as in those of ancient translations, and even in the citations of the early writers of the Church whenever they quote the epistle by name. It is altogether incorrect to suppose, as some have done, the epistle is referred to in the Fragment of Muratori under the title *ad Alexandrinos* (cf. § 193). We never find it quoted by the Fathers under any other title than πρὸς Ἑβραίους, *Epistola ad Hebræos;* so that we may be pretty sure it was from the first circulated under this title only, which was probably attached to it by the author himself at the time of its despatch. At the period to which our epistle belongs, the name Ἑβραῖοι was used chiefly in two senses: (*a.*) To distinguish Jews in general in respect of their descent from Abraham (who himself is called a Hebrew in Gen. xiv. 13) through Isaac and Jacob; and it is thus used in 2 Cor. xi. 22, Phil. iii. 5, and subsequently often by the Fathers (cf. Tholuck, *Commentar*, 2d ed. p. 97): (*b.*) In a more restricted sense, to distinguish those Jews whose ordinary and colloquial language was not Greek or any other foreign tongue, but Hebrew, or more correctly Aramæan. This was the case at the time referred to, not only with the Jews of Palestine, but also with those of Babylon. Still Palestine was regarded as their chief seat during the lifetime of Christ and His apostles. Now no one doubts that our epistle was addressed not to unbelieving Jews, but to such as belonged to the Christian Church, that is, to Jewish Chris-

tians. It cannot, however, have been written for Jewish Christians universally—such, for instance, as lived in various countries lying apart from one another—but rather, as its contents would lead us to conclude, for a definite community confined to some distinct locality (see especially xiii. 23, where the writer promises to visit his readers in company with Timothy). The title, then, specially refers to Palestinian Jews living in Judea, and we must understand it in the sense in which it is used by Irenæus when he says (*adv. Hæreses*, iii. 1) that Matthew wrote his Gospel ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ, and by Eusebius (iii. 24) when he speaks of Matthew as having preached to the Ἑβραῖοι, just as it is used in this sense—that is, as applying to the Palestinian Jewish Christians—in the εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἑβραίους. Hence the Fathers (Pantænus, Clemens Alex., Eusebius, Jerome, etc.) unhesitatingly assert that our epistle was written for Palestinians,—an assertion amply confirmed by its contents.

The readers to whom the epistle was addressed were unquestionably Jewish Christians, and were exclusively such apparently as, in spite of their Christianity, still observed the Levitical sacrifices, looking upon them as essentially necessary for the continual expiation of sin, and altogether attaching an importance to them unknown to the Judaizers with whom Paul has so much to do in his epistles to the various Christian societies beyond Palestine. The Jews of the dispersion living out of Palestine could not have participated with any regularity in the Levitical ritual, owing to their distance from the temple; and it is scarcely likely that, when any of them became Christians, they carried over from Judaism a special regard and preference for the temple service and the Levitical sacrifices, or in any sense incorporated them with Christianity. This would be far more likely in the case of such Jews as had always lived at Jerusalem or in its vicinity, and had taken part in the splendour of the daily temple service. These, we might naturally expect, would, even when admitting Jesus to be the Christ, retain a special regard for the Jewish temple, and thus continue, though in another and deeper sense, to be connected with

Judaism far more closely than those who in the Churches beyond Palestine displayed a Judaizing spirit by laying stress on circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath, and such laws as pertained to meats and purifications. The Churches in Jerusalem and Judea, probably during the whole apostolic age, consisted almost exclusively of Jews, and possibly of such proselytes as prior to their conversion had become full members of the Jewish communion (this was very likely the case even with the deacon Nicolas, who in Acts vi. 5 is described as a proselyte of Antioch). Of Gentile Christians properly so called there were few or none, which agrees with the contents of our epistle, where, as we have already remarked, no notice whatever is taken of Gentile Christians,—a fact very unlikely to have occurred if the Churches the author had in his mind were made up of Jews and Gentiles together, since in that case (especially when we bear in mind the stern Judaizing temper of the former) there could hardly fail to have been conflicts and collisions between the two parties which it could not have left unnoticed. This hypothesis as to the destination of the epistle is specially confirmed by xiii. 12, where we read simply, *Christ suffered* ἔξω τῆς πύλης,—a description naturally explicable if the author thought of such readers as lived in or near the city whose gate is here alluded to, that is, Jerusalem or its neighbourhood, but not if they were living in a part of the world altogether different. That the epistle is written in Greek cannot be urged against this view of its destination, if the remarks previously made (§ 23) on the spread of this language even in Palestine be kept in view. We have seen that even the Gospel of Matthew, which was unquestionably primarily intended for Palestinian Jews, was originally written in Greek. Our epistle certainly, if its destination were such as we have supposed, might have been written in Aramæan; but if the author was Apollos, and therefore a man not likely to know very much of Aramæan, the more natural conclusion is that he would use Greek even for Jewish Christians in and near Jerusalem, since he might count on being understood by all in general who were in the habit of reading the Scriptures,

whether Hellenists of Judea or Hebrews strictly so called, neither of whom could be separated from the other in this epistle. Altogether unsound and unnatural is Ebrard's opinion, that the epistle was indeed sent to Jerusalem, not however to the Jewish Christians there in general, but "to a select circle of neophytes, who, struck with fear and anxiety on account of their exclusion from the temple service, acted as if about to draw back altogether from Christianity (x. 25), and therefore were brought afresh under instruction, in which this epistle was intended to form a sort of guide." It is extremely improbable that those members of the Church at Jerusalem who were wavering and inclined to apostasy, formed a band separate and distinct from the rest of the brethren. At any rate, in that case we should have expected to find in the address, and even in the body of the epistle, some reference to such a distinction, whereas we do not. I have elsewhere (see my *Einl.* § 12) examined various reasons alleged with some plausibility against the view that the epistle was intended for the Churches in Judea. On another objection, arising out of the way in which the relation of the original readers to primitive Christianity is set forth in this epistle (ii. 3, and especially v. 12), see my Commentary, on v. 12, p. 111 sq. On other views respecting the original readers, see my *Einl.* § 13, 14.[1] Since that was written, the notion that the epistle was written for Jewish Christians at Alexandria has been put forth by Wieseler (*Chronologie*, pp. 481–504) and K. R. Köstlin (*Theolog. Jahrbb.* 1854, pp. 366–416). Bunsen also favours it, and even Schleiermacher to some extent, though certainly incorrectly. If we bear in mind the free spiritualistic temper at this time of the Alexandrian Jews, who studied Greek literature and philosophy as the Greeks residing there did Jewish theology, and also the harmonizing temper of the early

[1] Recently EWALD (*Gesch. Isr.* vi. 638) conjectures it was some Italian city, though not Rome; HOLZMANN (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1859, ii. pp. 297–303) the Church at Rome, which also BAUR (*Tüb. Zeitsch.* 1838, iii. p. 143) had indicated. SCHNECKENBURGER looks for the readers beyond Palestine (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1859, ii. pp. 291–297).

Alexandrian Fathers known to us, it is perfectly plain that from the very first the Church at Alexandria must have been made up of Jews and Gentiles mixed together, and that the believers even from the Jews never felt so strongly attached to the ordinances and traditions of Judaism as those whom our epistle addresses. Wieseler's notion, that by the temple service to which his readers were attached, the author meant that of the temple in Egypt before referred to, is untenable. The Alexandrian Jews in general do not appear to have had as good an opinion of this temple as Philo had. It is therefore not likely that such of them as became Christians felt so firmly attached to its worship, and ran so nearly the risk of proving traitors to Christianity, as the author of our epistle manifestly fears was the case with his readers. The positive internal evidences alleged on behalf of their notion that the epistle was designed for Alexandrian Jews are of no weight, and only serve to prove that the author was born, or at any rate educated, at Alexandria.[1] On this point, too, it is worth while to remember that those very Fathers of Alexandria who are the earliest to mention our epistle, and who specially valued it, never knew anything of its having been written primarily for their Church, but unhesitatingly speak of it as written for Palestinians; and in this, no doubt, they were quite correct.

§ 200.

If we look at the internal state of these Judæo-Christian communities in Judea, there can be no doubt that the members in general did not regard themselves as severed from the Jewish Church and nation. They observed not only the Jewish ordinances as to meats and purifications, but also the Jewish festivals, and the service of the Jewish temple. This arose, probably, on the part of some from a liberal spirit, especially on the part of the Hellenists, to whom it is likely the deacon Stephen belonged, against whom the charge may already have been raised, of having spoken against the temple and the law, and intimated that

[1] [Compare (against KÖSTLIN) RIEHM, p. 28 sqq.; also RITSCHL, *Ueber die Leser des Hebr.*, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1866.]

Jesus Himself had intended to overthrow them (Acts vi. 11–14). On the part, however, of the majority, especially of the Hebrews strictly so called, it no doubt arose from a narrow and bigoted spirit, which insisted upon the perpetual validity even of the ritual of the Jewish law. Hence their strong aversion to the Apostle Paul, and his practice of receiving Gentiles into the Christian Church, without exacting any pledge as to the observance of the law. At the apostolical conference in Jerusalem (Acts xv.; Gal. ii.), the Gentile Christians in Syria and Cilicia were freed from all obligation to be circumcised and to observe the Jewish law, except in a few points. We have seen, however (§ 138), that even these exceptions were utterly disregarded by the Apostle Paul in the Churches subsequently founded by him; while for other reasons the stricter party among the Jewish Christians in Palestine became discontented with them, and again demanded that Gentile Christians should submit to circumcision and the whole Jewish law, else they could have no intercourse with them—above all, could not eat with them —without defilement. These demands, however, were unsuccessful. Indeed, in the Churches founded beyond Palestine by St. Paul and his coadjutors, the Jewish, who moreover were usually the minority, were increasingly absorbed by the Gentile Christians, and consequently were more and more severed from their fellow-countrymen, and even excommunicated by them. Hence, as a natural result, they themselves were gradually emancipated from the ordinances of Judaism, feeling less inducement to circumcise their children, and thus incorporate them with the Jewish nation (cf. Acts xxi. 21). All this, on the other hand, led the Jewish Christians at Jerusalem, the majority of whom were *ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου*, to become more distrustful and prejudiced towards the Churches beyond Palestine, and even towards such of their members as were Jews. The more these loosened their connection with the Jewish Church, the more stringently did those hold to Judaism, and lay stress on the law and the Levitical ordinances. Nay, they probably looked even upon those Jews who did not believe in Jesus, but who were

zealous for the law, as more in affinity with themselves, than such believing Jews as, by their intimacy with Gentile Christians, appeared to undervalue the law. The more, too, the Churches beyond Palestine became independent of the Levitical ordinances and hierarchy, the more were the stricter Jewish Christians at Jerusalem disinclined to regard them as essentially united with themselves, by the bond of a common faith and confession, in the one body of Christ. Hence the inward unity of the Church at Jerusalem became feebler, especially after that society ceased to be led by the apostles and the Lord's brothers. Such was probably the state of things at the time when our epistle was written. We see from its own testimony, that in its day many members of the Church at Jerusalem had ceased to frequent the gatherings of believers (x. 25), and thus given cause to fear lest they should utterly apostatize from Christianity and relapse into Judaism (vi. 1 sqq., x. 26–30). Many of them were doubtless influenced by a dread of excommunication at the hands of the Jews; others probably by personal scruples, occasioned by the position in relation to Judaism which, in its several societies beyond Palestine, the Christian Church was assuming. At any rate, if a separation must needs be, they apparently would rather have separated from the Christian Church than from Judaism, believing that no spiritual rest could be theirs apart from a faithful observance of the Levitical worship and ordinances. Now it was with an eye to these circumstances our epistle was written, its object being, not, as Thiersch (in the Programme before referred to) has sought to prove, to console the Christians at Jerusalem who had been excommunicated from the temple by the Sanhedrim (see *contra*, Lünemann, p. 45, 2d ed.), but rather to warn the Jewish Christians against apostasy from Christ, and a complete relapse into Judaism. For this purpose it attempts, by a comparison between Christianity and Judaism, to show, on the one hand, how far more glorious was the new covenant in Christ than that of the old which came by Moses, and how it furnished means of grace which brought a far more blessed and true peace; on the other, how the

Levitical ordinances, and the express statements of Old Testament Scripture itself, imply that the whole system of Judaism, with all its institutions, was but a faint earthly shadow of something higher and heavenly, and therefore destined to pass away when the heavenly original should appear, which it now had done in Christ, and the covenant grounded on Him. These are the dogmatic principles which lie at the basis of this epistle. Their development, however, is accompanied and interrupted by various admonitions to the readers to hold fast the salvation vouchsafed to them in Christ, and not on any ground to draw back. In the course of these admonitions the author reminds his readers of their own former advancement in the knowledge and practice of the gospel; of the severe chastening which befell those interested in the old covenant on account of their obstinacy and apostasy, and which would much more surely fall on such as did not abide in the true fellowship of the new covenant; of the difficulty of restoring those who have once apostatized; of the brevity of the day of grace still remaining to them, and the nearness of the Lord; of the wholesomeness of chastisement and suffering for the children of God; of the example of the godly of past days, who, in spite of manifold trials, remained unshaken in faith to the end; and of the example of Jesus Himself, who became perfect through sufferings. These admonitions are found in ii. 1–4, iii. 1 sq., 7 sqq., iv. 1, 11–13, 14–16, and especially in the longer sections v. 11–vi. 20, x. 19–xii. 13; and it is clear from them all, that the main purpose of the epistle was admonitory. Among the dogmatic principles, that to which most prominence is given, and which is most developed, is the doctrine of Christ as the High Priest of the new covenant, the author comparing Him with the Levitical high priest from several points of view, and showing His greater glory and superiority, as well as the high degree in which His personal righteousness rose above the mere external dignity of the Levitical high priest (v. 1–10, vi. 21–x. 18).

§ 201.

Time of writing. From what has been already said, it is plain that the epistle could only have been written after many of those by whom its readers had been instructed in Christianity, and therefore most likely after the apostles, and first presidents of the Church at Jerusalem especially, had passed away (xiii. 7; cf. v. 12, x. 32–34), doubtless also after Paul's death, and therefore not before 66 or 67 A.D. On the other hand, it was certainly written before the destruction of Jerusalem, since it is throughout implied that the Levitical worship and sacrifices were still in existence. Even if the drapery of the epistle was fictitious, it is inconceivable what object any writer subsequent to the overthrow of the whole Jewish sacrificial system could have had in writing it. There can also be no doubt that the epistle was written prior to the last siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, since it implies that the Levitical service was going on uninterruptedly; yet it was probably not long before that event, and at a time when war had already begun in Judea, accordingly not long before the close of the forty years after Christ's death, as may be inferred from iii. 7 sqq. (see my *Commentar, ad loc.*), somewhere about 68–69 A.D.

Lastly, as to the *place where the epistle was written.* It must have been some distance from Judea, since the author expresses a hope of visiting (xiii. 19, 23) the believers there, according to the latter verse, in company with Timothy, shortly before released from imprisonment, if the latter should come to him. Nor, again, was the place in Italy, if we may judge from xiii. 24, *ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, —an expression naturally applicable to Italian Christians (though Tholuck and Ebrard erroneously deny this) only from one not personally in Italy, else we should expect *οἱ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ*, just as in 1 Pet. v. 13 we read, *ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή*. Most probably we ought to look for the author in some port on the way from Rome to Jerusalem, at which Timothy might touch on his journey from the former city to the latter. Hence, if Apollos was this author, the most probable conjecture would be that of

Ephesus or Corinth, where at an earlier period he had already been engaged in actively spreading the gospel.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

§ 202.

Besides the Epistles of St. Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is either appended to or included among them, we find in the New Testament seven other epistles which from the fourth century have been designated in the Greek Church by the name CATHOLIC (*General*, Eng. ver.). They occur in the following order in Greek and Latin MSS. and editions: Epistle of James; First and Second Epistles of Peter; First, Second, and Third Epistles of John; and lastly, the Epistle of Jude. Of these we find universally used and recognised at the earliest period, First Peter and First John: the other five obtained general recognition only at a later time; and, indeed, in the Syrian Church four of them were never recognised as canonical at all, but only one—the Epistle of James.

In what sense the term Catholic is applied to them is a subject of controversy.[1] We know as a matter of fact, that in the Greek Church it was often applied, as early as and after the *second* century, not only to some of these epistles separately, but also to others; while it was applied to the seven collectively only at the beginning of the fourth century, the first writer in whom it thus occurs being Eusebius. Still it occurs in him as the fixed and established name by which they were distinguished both from the Pauline Epistles, including the Epistle to the Hebrews, and from others which were now and then used by the Church, such as the Epistle

[1] Cf. besides the Introductions to the N. T., POLT, *Prolegg. ad Ep. Catholicas*, pp. 1–58 (vol. ix. of Koppe's N. T. ed. 3, 1816); MAYERHOFF, *Einl. in die Petr. Schf.* pp. 31-41; LÜCKE, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1836, iii. pp. 643–659.

of Barnabas.[1] Thus, the term being found in the Greek Church as distinctive of these epistles, it became usual subsequently, as it is with ourselves, without any knowledge or thought of the sense in which it was to be understood. Still we may ask what those who first applied it to these epistles really meant by it. There are three explanations. The epistles, it is said, are thus designated, (*a*) with reference to their collection as such into one whole; (*b*) with reference to their ecclesiastical authority and recognition; (*c*) with reference to their destination, the circle of readers the writers had before their eyes. The least satisfactory of these is the first, which Hug and Schleiermacher adopt. They contend that, after the epistles of St. Paul had been arranged in a special collection separate from the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, the epistles proceeding from various authors were also brought into a section by themselves, which was then called *The remaining Epistles* καθόλου; afterwards, more briefly, ἐπιστολὰς καθολικάς. But the appellation cannot possibly apply to a collection of letters by different authors, such a use of the word καθολικός being altogether unknown to ecclesiastical writers. The second explanation corresponds better with their use of the word. Here *catholic* is by some understood in opposition to *heretical*, and is supposed to be applied to these epistles because they were recognised by the catholic Church as orthodox works, setting forth the true doctrine of the Church against heretics. The word καθολικός is thus used in reference to writings in Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 3; *vid. infra*, § 246). Others have understood the word still more definitely in reference to these epistles, in the sense of *universally recognised, canonical writings*. It is against this, however, that even in the time of Eusebius they were by no means all *universally recognised;* for he himself (*H. E.* iii. 25; *vid.* § 246) reckons only 1st Peter and 1st John among the ὁμολογουμέναι, and relegates the other five to the ἀντιλεγομέναι. Moreover, in whichever of the two ways referred

[1] This is clearly shown by passages in EUSEBIUS (especially *H. E.* ii. 23, vi. 14); and ATHANASIUS (*Ep. festal.*), CYRILL of Jerusalem (*Catech.* v. 36), EPIPHANIUS, etc.

to this second explanation is understood, the word *catholic* is, in its sense at least, as applicable to the other New Testament writings, especially St. Paul's epistles, as to these seven; so that we can hardly understand why it should be the special designation of the latter rather than the former. The third explanation is more intelligible, since it accounts for the name on the ground that these epistles were not intended for particular persons or Churches, but for Christendom in general, or at least for a large circle of Christian readers confined to no one place in particular. Probably this is the usual meaning of καθολικός whenever it occurs in ecclesiastical writers before Eusebius in reference to particular works, and of course to these seven as well as to other epistles; for it is only in such a connection that we find it used at all. It is thus applied: (*a*) to the Epistle of Jude, by Clemens Al. *Adumbr.*, and Origen, *in Ep. ad Rom.* (Opp. iv. p. 549): (*b*) to 1st John, by Origen, *in Matth.* tom. xvii. (Opp. iii. 797), *in Joann.* tom. ii. (Opp. iv. 76), and by Dionysius Al. (Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. 25); also by Apollonius, sec. ii. fin. (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18): (*c*) to the Epistle of Barnabas, by Origen, *contra Cels.* i. 63: (*d*) to the letter of the apostles in Acts xv. 23 sqq. (by Clemens Al. *Stromata*, iv. 512, ed. Sylburg), which, though primarily addressed to the Gentile Christians of Syria and Cilicia, might still be regarded as addressed to them everywhere, especially as we are told (Acts xvi. 4) that Paul made it known to believers in other regions, that they might keep its decrees: (*e*) to 1st Peter, by Origen, *in Joann.* t. vi. c. 18, and *in Matth. ut supra* (Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 25; *vid.* § 218). In this last instance it has often been thought 1st Peter is called in both passages an ἐπιστολὴ καθολικὴ to distinguish it from 2d Peter, and that the epithet refers to its recognition by the Church as an ἐπιστολὴ ὁμολογουμένη. But it is far more likely that Origen was not in either place thinking of 2d Peter at all, which as yet was little used, but described 1st Peter as καθολικὴ merely on the ground of its being intended for general use, and not to distinguish it from the former. It is true the epistle speaks (i. 1) of a definite circle of readers to which it was addressed;

but this consisted of all the Churches of five provinces of Asia Minor, whose particular condition and circumstances, moreover, are not made very prominent. We may therefore naturally conclude that (as in the case of the apostolical epistle recorded in Acts xv.) 1st Peter was regarded and described as *catholic* in the sense in which we have understood that term, that is, because it concerned itself with the whole body of Christian people. It is highly probable, then, that when these seven epistles began to be treated as one whole, and in contradistinction to the other parts of the New Testament, especially St. Paul's epistles, received the special designation of *Catholic Epistles*, the term was applied to them in the sense just explained.[1] Speaking generally, they are distinguished from St. Paul's epistles, in that while the latter, including the Epistle to the Hebrews, are all addressed either to particular persons or Churches, or to the Christians of a particular city, or at any rate of a particular province, the Catholic Epistles address themselves to a wider circle of readers, who for the most part cannot be thus definitely limited. Only the *Second* and *Third* Epistles of John are addressed to particular persons,—the former to an ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία, the latter to one Gaius. But at an early period some (Clemens Al. *Adumbr.*) interpreted the ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία of 2d John of the Christian Church, and even in 3d John it has been thought the apostle probably had the Church really in view: otherwise we must conclude that one or both of these epistles were incorporated with 1st John, simply because they were supposed to come from the same author, and then the characteristics of the larger part of the works composing it led to the distinctive title being applied to the whole collection. There will, however, always be a lack of completeness about the history of these seven epistles as to their collection and name, which, owing to insufficient data, we shall never be able to fill up. We cannot, for instance, point out how and when what we find was already a settled matter in the time of Eusebius came to pass, that the Greek Church looked

[1] Just as the name is explained in this sense by LEONTIUS BYZANTINUS (sec. vi. *fin. de sectis, actio* 2) and ŒCUMENIUS (*Prolegg. in Ep. Jac.*).

upon these epistles as forming a complete collection by themselves, distinguished by the name of *Catholic Epistles*. All we know with anything like certainty is, that it was not the case before the latter part of the *third* century.

In the Latin Church, on the other hand, it was much later before it became usual to connect these epistles together by a common name. We certainly find them called collectively *Epistolæ Canonicæ*, but not before the *sixth* century: at least we meet with the name first in Junilius (*De partibus divinæ legis*, i. 6) and Cassiodore (*De institutione divinarum Scripturarum*, etc.); while even in Rufinus, Jerome,[1] etc., and in the lists of canonical books of the New Testament (*vid.* § 250), the epistles are quoted singly and separately, not under any common name. Even the term *Epistolæ Canonicæ*, which was the most usual in the Latin Church after the period just stated, very probably originated in the belief that by *catholic* as applied to these epistles in the Greek Church was meant *universally recognised and received by the Church*, without reference to any distinction between them and the Pauline Epistles. Another supposition as to the origin of this name in the Latin Church has been advanced by Lücke (*ut supra*, p. 649 sq.), but it is very fanciful, and quite improbable.

THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.

§ 203.

Among the Catholic Epistles, the first is described as written by "James, a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ," the last by "Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James." Two questions, however, have been raised with regard to both. *First*, Whether they have been rightly attributed to James and Jude at all? and *Secondly*, and more widely still, which of the many men known to us under

[1] When JEROME (*de viris ill.* 2, 4) speaks of the Epistles of James and Jude as to be found among the seven catholic epistles, he is merely following the practice common among the Greeks.

the names James and Jude are here meant, and how do they stand related to one another?

As regards James, it is very certain he is not identical with the Apostle James the Great, the brother of John, and son of Zebedee; for the latter, according to Acts xii. 2, was probably at an early date put to death by Herod Agrippa I. (44 A.D.), while the epistle was unquestionably written much later. We find, however, not long after the death of this James the Great, another James occupying a very prominent position at Jerusalem, where he appears specially active in the apostolical deliberations on the relations of the Gentile Christians to the Jewish law (Acts xv. 12 sqq.; Gal. ii. 9). In the latter passage, Paul speaks of him and Peter and John as *τοὺς δοκοῦντες στύλους εἶναι.* He seems to have been then and for some time afterwards at the head of the Judæo-Christian party in Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 18; Gal. ii. 12). Moreover, it is plain from Acts xii. 17 that he was held in high regard by the Christians at Jerusalem while Agrippa was still living. From the time shortly before Agrippa's death, on to St. Paul's arrest at Jerusalem, consequently from the year 44 A.D. to 58 A.D. at least, this James is always mentioned in the Acts without any distinctive epithet, so that there could not then have been among the Christian teachers in Judea a second of the same name occupying a position of anything like equal importance, which would make it necessary to guard against a confusion of the two. We may therefore pretty safely conclude that this James is the one who puts himself forward as the author of our epistle, and is simply described as a "servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ." He it is also, who in the seventh of the Catholic Epistles is mentioned as the brother of Jude. Again, it is highly probable that this is the James whom St. Paul speaks of having seen, in addition to Peter, on his first visit to Jerusalem, three years after his conversion, and whom he designates "the Lord's brother." This is confirmed[1] by

[1] WIESELER incorrectly denies this (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1842; and *Commentar, zu* Gal. i. 19). He correctly distinguishes James the Lord's brother from James the son of Alpheus; but maintains with STIER, that not the

the statements of Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9. 1) and Hegesippus (Euseb. ii. 23), both of whom, though with variations, and as far as Hegesippus is concerned with the mixture of much legendary matter, relate that one James—surnamed, Hegesippus says, the *Just*, and a brother of Jesus—met with his death at the hands of the Jewish zealots as a traitor to the law. According to Josephus, the event occurred after the death of the governor Festus, and shortly before the arrival of his successor Albinus (*circ.* 63–64 A.D.). Unquestionably this is the James of whom, after the death of the Apostle James the Great, the son of Zebedee, we read in the Acts as holding a high position in Jerusalem, and whom Hegesippus expressly describes as the head of the Christian society there. Ecclesiastical tradition also usually speaks of this James the Lord's brother as the author of our epistle. We see this in Clemens Al., in his *Hypotyposes*, according to Euseb. ii. 23,—a chapter entirely occupied with an account of James the Lord's brother, and making this express statement, *οὗ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται*; Jerome, *de vir. illustr.* ii.; Theophylact, *in Marc.* c. vi., and others, who cite the author of our epistle as *Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφόθεος*, a term also met with in the postscript of several codices. So also the Syrian Church, in its missals and lectionaries, always speaks of James the Lord's brother as the author of this epistle.

§ 204.

From the most ancient times there has been much controversy, (*a*) as to the sense in which this James is called the Lord's brother; and closely connected with this, (*b*) whether he is one and the same with the Apostle James the Less, the son of Alphæus, or distinct from him.[1] We often read of

former, but the latter, was at the head of the Church in Jerusalem (Acts xii. sqq.; Gal. ii.), so that the James of Gal. ii. could not be the same as that of Gal. i. 19.

[1] Even in the ancient Fathers opinions on these points differ more or less from one another, so that it seems clear they did not in any case rest on any very trustworthy tradition. In modern times the contro-

the Lord's brethren in other passages of the New Testament besides Gal. i. 19: for instance, after the ascension, in Acts i. 14, where they are mentioned as living after that event, along with the apostles and Mary the mother of Jesus, at Jerusalem; and in 1 Cor. ix. 5, where we see that, to some extent at least, they too went about as Christian teachers, though probably restricting themselves to Judea. We also read of them during our Lord's life in John ii. 12, vii. 1 sqq. (where it is expressly said they did not believe in Jesus); Matt. xii. 46–50, cf. Luke viii. 19–21, Mark iii. 31–35; Matt. xiii. 35, cf. Mark vi. 3. Taking all these passages together, we may look on the following points as pretty well established:—

(*a.*) The persons here named as the brothers of Jesus were the sons of Joseph and Mary. Against this there are two theories, which differ from one another: (*a*) That they were only the Lord's first cousins—children, that is, of His mother's sister, who, according to John xix. 25, was likewise called Mary, and distinguished from the mother of Jesus as ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, where γυνή is generally understood, probably correctly, and the person referred to identified with her who in Matt. xxiii. 56 and Mark xv. 40 is described as the mother of James and Joses (cf. Mark xvi. 1; Luke xxiv. 10). But if Jesus was only thus distantly related to these men, and especially to James, it is incomprehensible how they came to be so constantly described as His brothers, and in the case of James even by the Jewish historian Josephus. Above all, what is told us of the Nazarites in Matt. xiii. 55, Mark vi. 3, would be utterly unintelligible.[1] (*β*) That they were indeed the sons of Joseph, but by a former marriage.[2] But

versy has been variously handled, and with special comprehensiveness and thoroughness by PH. SCHAFF, in his *Das Verhältniss des Jakobus, Bruders des Herrn, zu Jak. Alphëi*, Berlin 1842. Here the various theories are given in full, and carefully criticised.

[1] According to WIESELER's interpretation of John xix. 25 (*vid. supra*, § 60), this assumption falls to the ground of itself.

[2] LANGE has another notion still (*Jakobus* in Herzog's *Encykl.*), that they were Joseph's foster-sons, whom he adopted after the death of their father Clopas, who, according to HEGESIPPUS (Euseb. iii. 11), was his brother.

(א) the way in which the *brothers of Jesus* are spoken of in relation to Mary in John ii. 12, as well as in Matt. xiii. 46 sq., Mark iii. 31, Luke viii. 19, makes it in the highest degree probable they were *her* sons, and as yet too young to live apart from their mother, consequently not older certainly than Jesus. (ב) There is not the slightest intimation in the New Testament that Joseph had been married before, not even where we might have expected it—in the narratives of his espousal of Mary and of the birth of Jesus. (ג) The passages, Matt. i. 25 and Luke ii. 7, place beyond all doubt as a fact well known to the evangelists, not only that after the birth of Jesus, Joseph lived with Mary as her husband, but that he also had children by her, who were certainly the same as those described in the New Testament as the brothers of Jesus, and expressly so called by the people of Nazareth.

(*b.*) James the Lord's brother, and subsequently the president of the Christian society at Jerusalem, was the same with him whom the people of Nazareth mentioned under that name among the brethren of the Lord. Also Jude, who is described as the author of the seventh Catholic Epistle, and is there called the brother of James, was the same as the Judas also mentioned by the Nazarites. The notion advocated by Eichhorn, Schott, and others (even by Winer in the 1st and 2d edd. of his *R.W.B.*), is very improbable, that the James mentioned by the Nazarites was indeed a son of Joseph and Mary, but that he was quite a different person from the James described in Gal. i. 19 and elsewhere as a brother of Jesus, though really only His cousin. If the Lord had any brother called James, it is all the more unlikely that a cousin bearing the same name should constantly, and without any explanation, be described as His brother.

(*c.*) Neither of these brothers of the Lord belonged to the company of the apostles. Not only from the narratives in the Synoptics (Matt. xii. 40 sqq., xiii. 55 sqq., and the parallel passages), but also from John vii. 5, where the evangelist, referring probably to a later period, about a year and a half before the Lord's death, speaks of His brothers generally as not having believed in Him, it is clear that at the

time when Jesus had gathered His twelve apostles about Him, none of His brothers had as yet joined the number of His disciples, but were converted to faith in Him subsequently. Also in Acts i. 13 sq. and 1 Cor. ix. 5, the brothers of the Lord are apparently clearly distinguished from the apostles. It would seem, therefore, that James the Lord's brother could not have been one of the twelve, and accordingly could not have been the same as the Apostle James the son of Alphæus. This James the son of Alphæus is unquestionably the apostle whose mother was a certain Mary (Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1; Luke xxiv. 10), who again was probably the same as is described in John xix. 25 as a sister of the mother of Jesus, and ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, that is, wife of Clopas, for Clopas may possibly be the same name as Alphæus.[1] Hence this second James, the apostle, may also have been a relation of Jesus, though more distant—the son of a sister, or probably of a step-sister, of His mother. That he was not, however, identical with James the Lord's brother, is evident from the foregoing remarks; and, moreover, if he had been so, we should certainly have expected to meet with some reference to the fact in one of the four lists of the apostles given us in the New Testament, which is not the case. Lastly, the passage Gal. i. 19 is not without weight in deciding this point. This text indeed has often, and even very recently, been adduced as a proof to the contrary, and as showing that James the Lord's brother certainly was one of the apostles. But this is unquestionably wrong. The way in which St. Paul mentions him would rather lead to the conclusion that this James, though certainly one of the teachers and leaders of the Church at Jerusalem, by whom Paul perhaps was instructed in the gospel, and appointed to the office of a Christian teacher, was yet not an apostle in the same sense as Peter, for instance, was.[2]

[1] It certainly may be so if we bear in mind the Hebrew form of the name חלפי, from which the *later* Greek form of the name may have arisen, following the pronunciation חַלְפִי, and adding a Greek termination, as the *earlier* Greek form from the flatter pronunciation חֲלַפִי.

[2] Compare what the author says in his *Exegetical Lectures on James:*

§ 205.

Starting, then, from what we have already said as proved, we may look upon it as probable that this James was the eldest of the Lord's brothers. We may presume that from his youth up he was distinguished by strict morality and a pious life, though he also had a severely legal, possibly too (for this may be inferred from Hegesippus' sketch of him,

"Among other arguments adduced to prove the identity of the two Jameses, the most plausible are the following two:—(1.) The mother of James the Less (the son of Alphæus) was the sister of the mother of Jesus (John xix. 25). Hence, on the supposition that the two Jameses were distinct persons, we should have two sisters with two sons each, bearing the same names James and Joses (Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40; and the words of the Nazarites in Matt. xiii. 55, Mark vi. 3). This, however, would not be at all unnatural among relatives. Besides, in the account last referred to above—that is, in the words of the people of Nazareth—the reading Ἰωσῆς is very doubtful; at any rate there is much to favour in Matthew the readings Ἰωσήφ and Ἰωάννες. [TISCHENDORF and TREGELLES substitute for Ἰωσῆ, Ἰωσῆτος, which seems to be only another genitive of Joses.] There is also another fact bearing on this point. Hegesippus (Euseb. iii. 32, iv. 22) expressly names, as president of the Church at Jerusalem, after the death of James the Just, one Simeon a cousin of the Lord's, and son of Clopas. In that case (judging from Matt. xiii. 55, Mark vi. 3) the two sisters must each have had, besides James and (possibly) Joses, a third son named Simon, whom Hug, Schneckenburger, and Lange moreover identify with the Apostle Simon of Cana (Zelotes, according to Luke), who in Luke's two lists of the apostles is named next after James the son of Alphæus. Accordingly these learned men, in common with many others, hold that the Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου immediately following Simon in Luke's lists, and answering to the Lebbæus and Thaddæus of Matthew's and Mark's (in both of which he is simply placed between James the son of Alphæus and Simon of Cana), is the same as the Judas whom the Nazarites mentioned as the fourth brother of Jesus, construing Ἰακώβου *brother* of James, after the analogy of Jude 1. Viewed in this light, there can be no doubt that the theory which identifies the Apostles James and Jude with the two brothers of the Lord, and authors of the epistles bearing the same names, looks well. But the whole dissolves on a closer scrutiny. I merely remark here: (*a.*) Jude 17 proves that Jude (or Judas) the brother of James was not one of the twelve apostles, and therefore was not the same as the Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου of Luke's lists, not to say that the *usus loquendi* makes it much more natural to construe these words Judas the *son* of James, just as in the preceding Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου. (*b.*) If three of the four sons of

overdrawn though it decidedly is) ascetic turn of mind, more after the model of John the Baptist than Jesus. This very temperament may have been one reason why for a long time he could not fall in with the Lord's way of life, and therefore during His sojourn on earth did not join himself to Him. Probably it was only the death and resurrection of Christ, and some personal manifestation of the Risen One

Alphæus—viz. James, Simon, and Jude—were apostles, it is not easy to see why in Matt. xxvii. 56 and Mark xv. 40 his wife should be simply described as the mother of James and Joses, since of all the four sons Joses was the least known, and in fact the only one who was not an apostle. (*c.*) In none of the lists of the apostles is there the slightest hint that Simon of Cana was a brother of James the son of Alphæus, or in any way related to Christ. (*d.*) Even Hegesippus plainly regards the Simeon of whom he speaks as only a cousin of James the Just; for while he calls the latter a brother of the Lord, he only mentions Simeon as a cousin of the Lord. That he identified him with the Apostle Simon of Cana is altogether improbable; at least he does not give the least hint of his having been an apostle. When we put all together, therefore, the whole simply amounts to this, that according to Hegesippus there was among the sons of Clopas, and also among the brothers of Christ, a Simeon; and therefore the two sisters must have had several sons of the same name. This, however, is not in itself impossible, since similar cases are often to be found among ourselves. Besides, it is a question whether Simeon the bishop was not made a cousin of Jesus merely by a later tradition, arising out of a wish to represent the earlier bishops of Jerusalem in general as near relations of the Redeemer. Hegesippus manifestly mixes up so much legendary matter with his account of James the Just, that we can hardly allow his testimony to place in doubt what seems to be established by the much earlier statements of the New Testament itself. (2.) Another plausible argument is gathered out of the narrative in the Acts. Since we read there (i. 13) of two apostles of the name James, and in xii. 2 of the execution of one of them, we seem almost forced, when we read in ver. 17 of the last chapter referred to, and in ch. xv. and xxi., of another James, who is not more precisely described, among the leaders of the Church at Jerusalem, to conclude he was the second apostle of that name, the son of Alphæus, especially as in all the preceding narrative we never read of a third James. This argument Wieseler avails himself of in support of his hypothesis (*vid. ut supra*, § 203); and it certainly would be of great weight if the Acts of the Apostles were an independent historical work, which, however, it is not. Even in the accounts of our Lord's life in the Gospels, although James the son of Alphæus was one of those immediately associated with

made to him subsequently,[1] which brought him to decided faith in Jesus as the promised Saviour. This manifestation may have been made to him in Galilee. Through him possibly his younger brothers were first brought to faith in Jesus; and with them he may subsequently, soon after the ascension, have gone to Jerusalem, and there taken up his abode, as indeed seems to be implied in ch. i. 4, and elsewhere in the Acts. In this city he seems soon to have attained to a position of great authority,—owing, no doubt, partly to his relationship to the Redeemer, but far more to his high personal character, and the earnestness of his moral tone. Very possibly his great influence may have been attained particularly when, after the execution of the Apostle James the son of Zebedee, Peter, and probably also many other of the apostles, had to seek safety away from Jerusalem. That the Judaizing teachers who set themselves against Paul should have been willing to rely on his authority, shows the high esteem in which he was held by the Jewish Christians, and leaves no room for doubt that he as well as Jude, now as formerly, held himself bound to the ceremonial law of his own nation. At the same time, the accounts given us in Acts xv. and xxi.

Him, and therefore one of that company with whose concerns those books are chiefly occupied, he is never in the least prominent; and hence it is not probable that he was a person of such importance as that distinguished head of the Christian society at Jerusalem. If, again, even after Christ's ascension, James the son of Alphæus did not make himself at all prominent, we can easily see how the original author or authors of these narratives in the second part of the Acts might simply designate James the Lord's brother ὁ Ἰάκωβος; all the more so if, as we may without much difficulty assume, James the son of Alphæus was no longer at Jerusalem, but somewhere else, in Galilee, or even already dead. From the way, however, in which Luke uses the sources of his information, it is very possible that he may have retained the designation *James* simply, without at all intending to mark the relation in any way between *this* James and Jesus, or James the son of Alphæus."

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 7. When St. Paul in this passage says, ἔπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ, it is almost self-evident, as the apostle gives no more precise description of the person to whom he is referring, that we have here to think of that brother of the Lord who was still living and in high esteem; and this is confirmed by the ecclesiastical tradition which, according to JEROME (*de viris ill.* 2), was to be found in the *Evang. sec. Hebræos.*

show clearly that he was a man of liberal temper and circumspection, who knew how to estimate correctly the relation of the Gentile Christians to the law and the gospel, and to defend them against exorbitant demands. Accordingly, it is very possible he was opposed by the fanatical party among the unbelieving Jews, especially by the Sadducees, and at last, according to the account Josephus gives us, put to death through the influence of their chief leader, the high priest Ananus.

§ 206.

The epistle which has come down to us under the name of this James is addressed to the "twelve tribes which are scattered abroad" (*ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ*). The phrase points us to the Jews, more especially to such of them as were living beyond Judea. The contents of the epistle, however, show that James had in view not simply Jews as such, whether believing or unbelieving, as Lardner and Credner suppose, but believing Jews definitely—Jewish Christians (*vid.* i. 18; ii. 1, 5, v. 7, 8, etc.). On the other hand, it is incorrect to see, with some,[1] in the *δώδεκα φυλαί* merely a symbolical designation of Christendom in general, and no reference at all to a particular nationality. A designation of this kind would be very unnatural; and an expression in the epistle itself, *Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν*, shows plainly that James at least had in view as his readers principally Jews, Jewish Christians. His very position would lead us to expect this. For though it may scarcely have been his intention definitely to exclude Gentile Christians from any concern with his epistle, he might naturally have thought it would look obtrusion on his part to busy himself expressly with them in the exhortations he gave. Accordingly he only mentions his own countrymen as those for whom his epistle was directly written.

As regards the date of the epistle, many learned men[2] have

[1] Köster, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1831, iii. pp. 581–588; Lücke, *ib.* 1831, iv. p. 928; Neudecker.

[2] As Nösselt (*Opusc. ad interpr. Sacr. Script.* Fasc. ii. (Halle 1787),

placed it very early, during the first period of the spread of Christianity beyond Judea, and even before the apostolical council of Acts xv.; so that it would be the earliest of all the New Testament writings. This, however, is certainly wrong. The sort of general designation of the readers in the introductory salutation admits of a natural explanation only if the epistle was written at a time when Christianity had spread in various directions beyond Palestine. This is evident also from ii. 7, which proves that the name *Christians* (*καλὸν ὄνομα, κ.τ.λ.*) was aleady the one by which those who confessed the Lord were chiefly known; i. 2 sqq., where Christ's followers are spoken of as having had to endure tribulations and persecutions; ii. 1 sqq.; where we see that already even in the public assemblies of Christian people a special honour and regard was openly shown to people of rank and wealth; lastly, ii. 14 sqq. points to a time when St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith had spread far and wide by that apostle's personal preaching, and possibly by his epistles also, giving rise to much misunderstanding and practical abuse. Indeed, it is not at all improbable, from the way in which James writes on this topic, that he had in view those epistles of St. Paul in which this doctrine is developed, such as the Galatians and Romans. The date of the epistle, therefore, may probably be placed at a time not long before the death of James (*circ.* 63–64 A.D.). There can be no doubt, we may add, that it was written at Jerusalem, since this was James' usual place of abode. We are also led to place its composition somewhere in Judea, not only by the description of its readers as *ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ*, but by particular expressions and figures which are best explained from a Palestinian point of view (*vid.* on this point, Hug, ii. § 155). Probably James sent the epistle first of all to the neighbouring district of Syria, into which Christianity had made its first entrance after passing beyond Palestine—to the Churches there, with which possibly that at Jerusalem had

p. 308 sqq.), NEANDER, SCHNECKENBURGER (*Beitr.* p. 209 sq.; *Annot. ad Ep. Jac. perpetua*, Stuttg. 1832, p. 138), WEISS (*Deutsche Zeitschr.*, etc., 1854, Nos. 51, 52); similarly HOFMANN (*Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed. i. 648).

more intercourse than with any other of the foreign Churches. Thence the epistle might circulate still further into other countries.

§ 207.

As regards the design of this epistle, there may have been no special circumstance to call it forth. It belongs, as we have seen, to a time when, in the Christian Church and on its behalf, literary activity, and especially, as in St. Paul's case, communications by letter, were not unusual. It is therefore very possible that a man like James, with his position, and the respect he enjoyed in a large part of Christendom even beyond Judea, having zealously at heart the promotion of Christian piety, felt the need of saying something to his fellow-countrymen and fellow-believers who were away from their national home, and writing such instructions and exhortations as from his knowledge of their circumstances and needs he knew would be for their profit. These instructions and exhortations refer principally: (*a*) to the distresses threatening Christian people, sent as trials to prove them, for the right endurance of which prayer for wisdom from above and a distrust of all transitory earthly possessions were necessary, i. 1–12: (*b*) to the disposition to ascribe temptations to evil to God, whereas they arise from our own lusts; and to the error of supposing it enough to profess Christianity by the mouth,—true fear of God being shown by practical love of those in want, and care to keep oneself unspotted from the world, i. 13–27: (*c*) to the mutual relations of rich and poor in the Churches, and to the inclination to show partiality towards the former, ii. 1–13: (*d*) to the abuse of the doctrine especially proclaimed by St. Paul, of free justification by faith alone, without works, ii. 14–26: (*e*) to the inclination on the part of so many to assume the office of teachers in the Church, without any true call, which gave rise to much bitter contention, disfavour, and division, iii. 1–iv. 12: (*f*) to the oppression which the rich practised upon the poor, and the presumption with which in their rash security they spoke of their future undertakings, instead of humbly submitting

their realization to God, iv. 13–v. 6. There are also many other exhortations. Through them all there certainly runs an inner bond of connection; still they are not as appropriately knit together as are the hortatory parts of St. Paul's epistles. The whole epistle exhibits high moral earnestness, but gives less prominence to the importance and power of faith. The section ii. 14–26 has often given occasion to the assumption that James is there contending against Paul's doctrine of justification by faith, and was himself opposed to Paul's view. On this ground Luther, in particular, could find so little in the epistle, that in the Preface to his New Testament, issued in 1524, he characterizes it as "*eine rechte ströherne Epistel die keine evangelische Art in sich hat.*" At a still later period he spoke no less unfavourably of it, as did also many other Lutheran theologians of the Reformation. Subsequently the epistle obtained a better reception even in the Lutheran Church, and it is now acknowledged that Paul and James agree essentially with one another; and though James, indeed, had Paul's doctrine in view, he was only arguing against its abuse by carnally-minded men, against whom we find Paul himself contending, though in a somewhat different way. There certainly is a marked difference in the cast of mind of these two Christian teachers, but no opposition in doctrine.

Style.—The Greek of this epistle is tolerably pure (speaking comparatively), and the diction sometimes even elegant and poetical. We have already remarked (§ 130) that it is not unlikely James drew up the letter of the apostles given in Acts xv. 23–29, which is also pretty good Greek.

§ 208.

In what has been said so far, I have taken for granted the genuineness of this epistle, and I think quite justifiably. This has indeed at various times been assailed from many points, but the reasons alleged are anything but satisfactory. In our own day, Kern in particular was the the first (*Tüb. Zeitschr.* 1835, ii. pp. 1–132) who, with great acuteness, assailed the genuineness of this epistle, so far as it was attri-

buted to James the Lord's brother (whom he identified with the Apostle James the Less). Afterwards, however, he retracted his opinion (*Der Br. Jak. untersücht u. erklärt*, Tüb. 1838), and, convinced especially by Credner's *Vindication*, declared decidedly in favour of its genuineness. On the other hand, De Wette, who at first spoke hesitatingly, in his 4th ed., after the essay of Kern just referred to, declared decidedly against its genuineness; so also Baur (*Paulus*, pp. 677–692, especially p. 688 sq., note), Schwegler (*Nachapost. Zeitalter*, i. 414 sqq.). In his 5th ed. De Wette speaks more favourably of the epistle; and though he still hesitates, seems to be more inclined to admit its genuineness. It would certainly be decisive against the epistle, if it were true, as De Wette and Baur, and Hug before them, assume, that at ii. 25 the author had the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 31) in view; for unquestionably that epistle was written after the death of James. There is not, however, the slightest ground for such an assumption.[1] A strong argument in favour of the genuineness of the epistle appears to me in the manner in which, at i. 1, James is designated simply "a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ." James might certainly have been quite content to describe himself simply in this way, if at the time when he wrote he was the only one of the name James among the Christian teachers to whom people would think of attributing such a work. But a later fabricator would certainly not have neglected to describe more particularly the James, as whose work he wished to pass his off, as brother of the Lord and bishop of Jerusalem or apostle, and thus have sought expressly to establish the claim of his work to pre-eminent authority, without which he would hardly have thought himself justified in writing. It is, however, quite otherwise in the epistle, where the writer speaks as a man of distinction and influence, but not as one feeling it necessary to show he is such by pointing out his office, or the like. Moreover, the external history of the

[1] See my *Einleit. in d. Br. an die Hebr.* p. 89 sq., note 91. ZELLER (*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1863, pp. 93–96) sees a use of the Apocalypse at i. 12 of this epistle. Compare Rev. ii. 10.

epistle in the Church is not unfavourable to its genuineness, if in considering it we only bear in mind, (*a*) that the epistle, though genuine and authentic, is not strictly the work of an apostle; and (*b*) that in its doctrinal contents it exhibits a narrow dogmatic range, comparatively speaking, and in the section ii. 14–26 may easily be regarded as opposed to Paul's doctrine. Under these circumstances, it is conceivable that it may have been long before it obtained recognition in all parts of the Church, and that doubts should be raised whether it was a genuine work of James, especially if he were identified with the apostle of the same name. Nothing, however, really unfavourable to the actual origin of the epistle would follow from all this. Thus Jerome says, *de vir. illustr.* 2, of James the Lord's brother: *unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem catholicis est, quæ et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur, licet paulatim tempore procedente obtinuerit auctoritatem.* So also Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25; *vid.* § 246) places our epistle among the ἀντιλεγομεναι, and says of it, ἰστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται (ii. 23). In the Western Church we meet with little or no use of the epistle during the first centuries; but in the Alexandrian and Syrian Churches—that is, those most closely allied with the Church in Palestine—we find it recognised at a very early period. In his *Hypotyposes*, Clement of Alexandria treated of it among other things, and we have no hint that he ever looked upon it as anything else than a work of James. Origen cites it more than once as a document of authority. But the most important testimony is its early recognition in the Syrian Church, shown by its inclusion in the old Syrian version, while others of our catholic epistles (Jude, 2d Peter, and 2d and 3d John) were excluded. It is therefore evident that in this part of the Church it must have been recognised at an early period, and so decisively, that no misgivings were felt as to its public use in the Church, which could not have been had there been any doubt as to its genuineness. This is all the more important, because between the Syrian Church and that at Jerusalem, over which James presided, there was a close connection from an early

period; and the Jewish Christians there must always have had much to do with James and the apostles at Jerusalem, as is clear from the Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians. Hence it would be hard to explain this early recognition of the epistle in this Church, if it had been the forgery of some later writer, and therefore had come into the possession of the Syrian Church only after James' death. Moreover, it is highly probable Clement of Rome recognised and used our epistle in the same way as he did passages from the Epistles of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews,[1] which he would hardly have done if the work were a later forgery, and above all as one written in opposition to Paul. Also in the *Shepherd of Hermas, Mandat.* 12, § 5,[2] we probably have a reminiscence of Jas. iv. 7. This is also exceedingly likely in the case of several passages in 1st Peter (*vid.* i. 6, 7, Jas. i. 2, 3; iv. 8, Jas. v. 20; v. 5, 6, 9, Jas. iv. 6, 7, 10, etc.). This, which of course assumes the authenticity of 1st Peter, is a decisive argument in favour of the age and authenticity of James. But, in fact, the authenticity of this epistle is vouched for by its entire character and contents, which bring before us a man who, along with stedfast faith in Jesus as the Christ, and a firm hope in His return in glory, had above all at heart the moral side of the gospel, which he treated (unlike Paul, for instance) rather as a new law, the cast of his piety giving more of a legal hue to Christianity. Such a man, judging from all the historical accounts we have of him, we should suppose James the Lord's brother to have been.

[1] *e.g.* c. 10 (cf. Jas. ii. 21, 23), Ἀβραὰμ ὁ φίλος προσαγορευθείς, πιστὸς εὑρέθη, ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν ὑπήκοον γενέσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην; c. 38 (cf. Jas. iii. 13), Ὁ σοφὸς ἐνδεικνύσθω τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐν λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς.

[2] Ἐὰν οὖν ἀντιστῇς αὐτὸν (τὸν διάβολον) νικηθεὶς φεύξεται ἀπό σου κατῃσχυμμένος.

THE EPISTLE OF JUDE.

§ 209.

The seventh of the catholic or general epistles professes to have been written by Jude, a "servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James." The author would not thus have described himself had not his brother James been a man better known, and occupying a more important position in the Church. Hence we may be certain the James referred to was the well-known brother of the Lord (§ 203 sqq.), and that Jude himself, therefore, was one of the Lord's brothers, and identical with the Judas so spoken of in Matt. xiii. 55 and Mark vi. 3. It follows from this, that during the Lord's earthly life he was not one of His disciples, and still less one of the twelve apostles. He cannot therefore have been the same as *Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου*. Indeed, nowhere in the epistle does he claim to be an apostle. It is true the phrase *δοῦλος Ἰ. Χρ.* in ver. 1 does not exclude the apostolical dignity, but still less does it describe it; and if Jude was obliged to point himself out by a reference to his better known brother James, we may be pretty sure he would not have neglected to call himself *apostle*, had he really been one of the twelve. That he was not, is still more definitely proved by ver. 17, *μνήσθητε τῶν ῥημάτων τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*; for he would not have thus written had he himself been an apostle. On the other hand, it is very possible that, though really a son of Joseph and Mary, and known in the Church as a brother of the Lord, a certain pious modesty might restrain him, as it did James also, from thus describing himself in his epistle, as Clemens Al., *Adumbr.*, long ago remarked. We know next to nothing with certainty of Jude's personal history in other respects. As we have already intimated (§ 204), he probably became a believer in the divine dignity of Jesus only after the resurrection, and possibly through the influence of his brother James. Later legends represent him as having preached in Judea and Galilee, subsequently in

Samaria and Idumea, and lastly in Arabia, Syria, and other countries (Niceph. *H. E.* ii. 40). The legend of the Latin Church takes him even to Persia, where he disputes with the magi and their adherents, preaches the gospel with success, and finally suffers martyrdom. But apart from the fact of their identifying him with the Apostle Jude, these legends belong to too late a time to be of much real historical value. There is, however, a somewhat interesting notice of Jude given by Hegesippus (Euseb. iii. 20), who describes him as *τὸν κατὰ σάρκα λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Κυρίου) ἀδελφόν*, and relates that his grandsons were once brought before Domitian, who was afraid of them as descendants of David, but dismissed them again when he saw they were only poor people, husbandmen, who earned their bread by manual labour, and whose expectations of the Lord's second coming were very different from what he had fancied. From this narrative it seems clear that Jude must have been married, which, judging from 1 Cor. ix. 5, was also the case with the Lord's brothers generally. It also seems clear that the anxiety Jude's grandsons gave the Roman emperor, arose from their grandfather's being as near a relation of Jesus Christ as we have said. For it would then be natural for even his grandchildren, though poor and obscure, to receive in the Jewish Christian Churches a consideration which would bring them under the special notice of the Romans. The whole narrative would be less intelligible, if Jude had been more distantly related to Christ. Where, however, these grandsons of his practised their calling is not said, though it is hardly likely to have been out of Palestine, in Judea or Galilee, where also their grandfather had been accustomed to live. At any rate, we have no reason to suppose that Jude, any more than the other brothers of the Lord, ever left these parts of the world. When Paul says of them generally (1 Cor. ix. 5), that they took their wives about with them, we are not at all called upon to suppose that he refers to any journeys they undertook beyond Palestine. But in what way Jude laboured in the gospel is not more precisely known to us. J. E. Ch. Schmidt thinks

he was not even one of the teachers in the Church, just as his grandsons in Domitian's time were not. This, however, by no means necessarily follows from the fact that he is nowhere mentioned as such. It seems plain from 1 Cor. ix. 5 and Acts i. 14, that the Lord's brothers generally, during the apostolical age, occupied a special position in the Church next after the apostles. Still it is obvious, on the other hand, that Jude, the author of our epistle, had no such sphere of labour or position as his brother James, with whom he here connects himself. It is very possible that, during James' life, he may simply have adhered to him, without taking up any very decided position of his own.

§ 210.

The epistle Jude gives us is an ἐπιστολὴ καθολικὴ in the strictest sense of the word, for it is addressed to believers generally. Judged by its contents and design, it is purely hortatory,—a work of exhortations and warnings, urging the readers to fight bravely for the faith, and not suffer themselves to be led astray by men who had privily come in among them to the great injury of the Church, and whose impending punishment is pointed out. From the author's description of them, these men would not seem to have been teachers who threatened to corrupt Christian doctrine by mere theoretical errors; at least the theoretical must with them have been wholly secondary and subordinate.[1] They were rather carnally-minded men, who abused to the service of their own lusts the doctrine of the Christian's freedom from the law in the matter of justification, even using the gatherings of Christians, where the love-feasts were celebrated, for an occasion of revelling; and, not satisfied with the licence allowed them, and their own station in the world, let out their bad spirit in audacious speeches and railings against

[1] Recently HUTHER (*Abth.* xii. of Meyer's Commentary) and EWALD (*Gesch. Isr.* vii. 180 sq.) still hold them to have been Gnostic false teachers. Cf. DORNER, *Entwicklungsgesch. d. Lehre Chr.* i. 104; and still further, RIEHM, *Ueber die in dem Briefe des Judas Charakterisirten Antinomisten, Stud. u. Krit.* 1861.

dignities, especially against the civil magistracy, and probably chiefly against the emperor, its head. Hence it would seem that there were individual members of the Christian body who were possessed of the same spirit as, for some time during, and especially towards the end of the apostolical age, characterized so many of the Jews in Palestine, and speedily brought down upon their nation utter ruin. It is very probable that these men, against whom our epistle was addressed, were to be found in the author's own neighbourhood in Judea, where it is quite possible many professed adherents of the Christian Church shared in the political excitement and restless movements of the Jews. Hence it would follow that the epistle was written during the political disturbances which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem. That it was so, and not, as Ewald and Credner suppose, some ten years after that event, is evident from the author's silence upon it, which certainly would not have been had Jerusalem been already destroyed, since it would exactly have suited his design to refer to such an instance of God's righteous judgment of His people, even of such as were professedly nearest to Him, when they ceased to walk according to His holy will; just as he refers to the punishment of the fallen angels and of the rebellious Israelites in the wilderness. On the other hand, that the epistle was not written very long before the destruction of Jerusalem, is clear from the general character of its polemics, and especially from ver. 17, where the writer speaks of the words of the apostles as having come to his readers at a much earlier period; so that we are led to conclude the greater part of the apostles were no longer living when he wrote. It is also very probable that his brother James was also now dead; otherwise he would hardly have found it necessary to write such an epistle. The epistle has this peculiarity, that more than once, in reference to the ancient history of the Jews, it appeals to their apocryphal writings, especially to the book of Enoch, which it expressly quotes as a prophetical work, and also to an apocryphal history of Moses (*Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως*); in the latter instance, for its account of the con-

flict between the archangel Michael and the devil respecting the body of Moses.

The authenticity of the epistle has indeed been sometimes called in question, but without any good ground.[1] It nowhere gives us the impression of being a work trying to pass itself off as written by a man from whom it really did not proceed. Had it been so, we should certainly have expected greater prominence to be given to Jude's personal relation to the Church and to the Lord Jesus Christ; that is, that the author should, for instance, have described himself as a brother of the Lord,—a fact more likely to be omitted if he really were so (since his description of himself as brother of James, without adding brother of the Lord, would have been sufficient to enable his first readers to distinguish him from the other Judas the apostle), than if he falsely laid claim to the honour. External testimony is also favourable to its authenticity. Nowhere is Jude's authorship assailed by the Fathers; and if it is not often directly quoted, this is easily explained partly by the brevity and special contents of the epistle, especially the use it makes of apocryphal writings, partly by the fact that, though genuine and authentic, it yet is not the book of an apostle, properly speaking, though the author is often called such by various Fathers. In the apostolical Fathers and early writers of the Church to the middle of the second century, we find no express references to the epistle, nor even any sure or particularly probable traces of any use of it. This also holds good of Irenæus; but it was probably known to his contemporaries, Clemens Al.[2]

[1] So by LUTHER, etc.; SCHWEGLER, i. 518-522. SCHLEIERMACHER also, NEANDER, and REUSS, seem inclined to the same view. Its authenticity, however, has been thoroughly and learnedly vindicated, especially by JUSSIEN, *De authentia Ep. Jud.*, Leipz. 1821. Its unauthenticity would be conclusively settled if we were to accept of the clever arguments of VOLKMAR, who places the book of Enoch, referred to in the epistle, in the second century of the Christian era, the time of Barcochba. On these arguments, and the controversy they excited, see HILGENFELD'S *Der Kanon u. die Kritik des N. T.* pp. 175, 178 sq.

[2] *Pædag.* iii. p. 239 (Sylburg); *Strom.* iii. p. 431.

and Tertullian, and also to the author of the list of Muratori. The first of these treated of it, in common with the other catholic or general epistles, in his *Hypotyposes* (*vid.* Euseb. vi. 14), of which those on this epistle have come down to us in the Latin translation (*Adumbratio*), where it is unhesitatingly assumed that Jude the Lord's brother wrote the epistle. In his other writings also, Clement often quotes statements from the epistle as Jude's. Tertullian, *de habitu Muliebri* iii., not only names the author at once as Jude, and even *Judas apostolus*, but attaches so much importance to the epistle, that from its use of the book of Enoch he argues in favour of some recognition by the Church of that apocryphal document. The epistle does not occur in the Peschito, and it never seems to have obtained canonical recognition in the Syrian Church. From what has been previously said, however, it does not at all follow that an epistle must be unauthentic because we find no reference to it in the early Church throughout. A special testimony to the age and consequent authenticity of this epistle is furnished by the relation which the second Epistle of Peter bears to it (*vid.* § 217). But apart from all external testimonies, its authenticity may be regarded as firmly proved by its whole character.

THE PETRINE EPISTLES.

§ 211.

The Apostle Peter, brother of Andrew, belonged, like St. John, to a fisherman's family of Bethsaida in Galilee (John i. 45, xii. 21). His father's name was Jonas (Matt. xvi. 17; John i. 43, xxi. 15–17), or John, according to what is probably the true reading in the places where the name occurs in St. John's Gospel. His usual home was Capernaum, and probably in the house of his wife's parents (Matt. viii. 14; Luke iv. 38). The accounts of the healing of his wife's mother in the Synoptics, and St. Paul's statement in 1 Cor. ix. 5, show that he was married; and it is clear, from the

last-named text, that his wife was still living when 1st Corinthians was written (*circ.* 58–59 A.D.), and was wont to accompany him on his journeys; so that his example by no means justified those who, claiming his name and authority, and boasting of being his successors, impose celibacy on the ministers of the gospel. This relationship and connection did not interfere with his fulfilling his high spiritual vocation, and prosecuting his ministry in obedience to the call of his Lord. According to John i. 42, 43, he was, with his brother Andrew, a disciple of John the Baptist. Andrew first brought him to the Saviour; but he probably returned again to his father's business in Galilee, until, by the command of the Lord, on occasion of the first miraculous draught of fishes, he gave himself wholly to Him as His disciple for life (Matt. iv. 18–20; Mark i. 16–18; Luke v. 1–11). His real name was Simon, but as an apostle he bore the name of *Πέτρος*, a Greek rendering of the Aramaic כֵּיפָא, *fels*, "rock," or "man of rock,"—a name which Jesus gave to him when first He saw him (John i. 42), with a prophetic reference to what he would be to the Church in its establishment and spread. St. Paul calls him, in 1st Corinthians and Galatians, by his Aramæan name, but with a Græcized termination, *Κηφᾶς*. It was not unusual, however, still to call him by his original name, Simon, in the Church at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 14).

As an apostle, Peter belonged to that inner circle of the disciples whom Christ admitted to a special intimacy, and who consisted of the two sons of Zebedee and himself. He was, however, prominent among these, through his forward vivacity, eagerness, and outspokenness. When Jesus was betrayed, he showed a momentary faintheartedness in thrice denying his Lord; and the Redeemer forewarned him of this, and foretold him that he would deny Him, when he boasted so boldly of his faithfulness; but He intimated, at the same time, that he would be restored, and that he would then be called "to strengthen" his brethren (Luke xxii. 32). After the resurrection, the Lord, in the presence of the others, gave him the command, "Feed my sheep" (John xxi. 15–17). In

the first year after the ascension, Peter appears as the prominent leader of the Church in Jerusalem, acting as its spokesman and representative. He laboured in Samaria as well as Jerusalem, and there he encountered Simon Magus (Acts viii.). We find him afterwards at Cæsarea, where, in receiving Cornelius and his family, he received the first uncircumcised Gentiles into the Christian Church.'' The narrative in the Acts, however, shows how far he was from occupying any such position as primate in the Church, for he had to vindicate his conduct towards Cornelius before the brethren in Jerusalem. After the martyrdom of James the brother of John by Agrippa I., this prince proceeded to take Peter also; but he was miraculously liberated, and left Jerusalem (Acts xii.). We are not told where he went to: in ver. 17 we simply read, ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἕτερον τόπον, —an expression which does not oblige us to suppose that he left Palestine. He probably soon returned again to Jerusalem, at least not long after the death of Agrippa I. (A.D. 44). We certainly find him again in Jerusalem, *circ.* A.D. 50–51, at the interview of Paul and Barnabas with the elders of the Jerusalem Church, concerning the exemption of Gentile Christians from circumcision and the observance of the Jewish law (Acts xv.; Gal. ii.). The following may be inferred concerning him from these two accounts:—(*a.*) Peter, so far from evincing a Judaizing tendency, maintained that circumcision and observance of the whole Jewish law were quite unnecessary in order to participation in the blessings of the kingdom of God. (*b.*) Peter, John, and James the Lord's brother, were then regarded as the heads of the Jerusalem Church: they were all three esteemed to be pillars, but Peter held no place of superiority over the other two as primate. St. Paul, in speaking of them, does not name Peter first, but James, who was not one of the twelve; and in the Acts it is James who, in his speech, gives the decisive or casting vote. (*c.*) According to Gal. ii. 8, Peter's distinctive work was to spread the gospel among the Jews, not only in Judea, but in other parts, as 1 Cor. ix. 5 shows: it would appear that he made repeated journeys for

this purpose, though the book of the Acts is silent about them, for he is not named there after the council at Jerusalem. It is evident from Gal. ii. 11 sqq. that he spent some time in Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, after that apostolic council, and before St. Paul's second great missionary tour (Acts xv. 36 sqq.). As to the circumstances which then transpired, see § 139. The manner in which St. Paul acted towards him shows plainly that he held no such rank as that of primate. We do not know how long he remained at Antioch, nor how often he visited the brethren there. The early writers of the Church (Eusebius, *Chron. ed.* 2 *Claud.*; Jerome, *in Ep. ad Gal.* ii.; *Vir. ill.* c. 1) erroneously say that he founded the Church at Antioch (see, on the contrary, Acts xi. 19 sqq.), and it is very improbable that he was, as they intimate, seven years bishop of that Church.

§ 212.

Asia Minor, Corinth, and Rome are likewise named by early writers as the scenes of St. Peter's apostolic labours. But it is much questioned whether these accounts are trustworthy. As to Asia Minor, the earliest writers who speak of it, Origen (*in Genesin*, lib. iii., in Euseb. iii. 1) and Eusebius (iii. 4), plainly tell us that they assume the labours of Peter there only on account of 1 Pet. i. 1. We cannot therefore attach any weight to the statements of later writers—*e.g.* Epiphanius, *Hær.* 27, p. 107; Jerome, *De viris illustr.* 1, and others—who speak of Peter's residence there with great certainty, as a matter of historical fact; but it is a question for consideration whether 1st Peter itself obliges us to adopt this belief. That Peter taught personally at Corinth is stated by Dionysius of Corinth (c. 170), in a letter to the Romans (in Euseb. ii. 25); and he speaks so confidently, that seeing he was himself bishop of Corinth, we must attach some weight to his evidence, though it is usually regarded merely as an inference from 1 Cor. i. 12, cf. iii. 22. Still, when we try to fix this historically, we cannot say when or how long Peter was there, whether before 1st Corinthians was written—so that his presence led to the formation of that party in the Church

there, which bore his name—or subsequently when a Petrine Church had already been formed. One thing is certain, he could not have been there before St. Paul's first visit. Still greater dubiousness attaches to the statement concerning St. Peter's residence in Rome, and his supposed martyrdom. It is an old tradition that Peter went to Rome, and suffered there as a martyr; and this is adopted by ecclesiastical writers without contradiction from the end of the second century downwards. The Roman Catholic Church down to the present day believes that he was the founder of the first Roman Church, and its first bishop; and upon this is based the dogma of the supremacy of the Pope as the successor of St. Peter in the Romish episcopate. But even if we grant the trustworthiness and correctness of historical opinions regarding the apostle's life, this dogma has no real ground to rest upon. In the Protestant Church, many at various times —partly on dogmatic and partly on historical grounds—have not only combated the supposed Roman episcopate of the Apostle Peter, but have even denied that he ever was in Rome.[1] But an unbiassed consideration of the external evidence will, I think, warrant our regarding it as an historical fact that Peter was in Rome, and died as a martyr there;[2] and will also lead us to the conclusion that he did

[1] Thus, in the early days of the Reformation, *U. Velenus, *Liber quo Petrum Romam non venisse asseritur* 1520 (Frankf. 1631, 4to), which is perhaps the work which Luther speaks of in a letter to Spalatin, 17th Feb. 1521 (according to De Wette in *Luther's Letters*, i. 559): *E Bohemia juvenis eruditus ad me dedit libellum, probare conatus, S. Petrum nunquam venisse aut fuisse Romam, 18 conjecturis, sed non evincit.* Again, Flacius Illyr. (in a work published 1554, **Historia certaminum*, etc.), Salmasius (**Apparatus ad libros de primatu Papæ*), and particularly *Fr. Spanheim (*De ficta profectione Petri ap. in urbem Romam*, Leyden 1679; also in his *Opp.* ii. 331 sqq.); and in modern times chiefly by Baur (*Tüb. Zeitschr. für Theol.* 1831, 4to, p. 137 sqq.), Paulus (p. 216 sqq.), and Mayerhoff (*Einl. in die Petr. Schriften*, pp. 77–95); further, Eichhorn, De Wette, Winer (*Bibl. Realw.-B.*), Neander (edd. 1 and 2 of his *Apost. Zeitalters*), and the Catholic scholar Ellendorf (*Ist Petrus in Rom gewesen?* 1841), and Adalb. Maier (*Br. an die Röm.*, Freib. 1847; *Einl.* p. 6 sqq.).

[2] See my remarks in the *Stud. u. Krit.* 1836, iv. pp. 1061–1064.

not found the Roman Church, and never held the office of bishop there.

(*a.*) We have two very old witnesses that St. Peter suffered martyrdom:—(*α*) John xxi. 19. Here the writer evidently refers our Lord's declaration in ver. 18 to a martyr's death, which the apostle had already (when John wrote) suffered, and to a special form of martyrdom, viz. crucifixion. (*β*) Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* v.), who speaks of Peter's martyrdom as a well-known fact (§ 175, note). We may with certainty infer from these two testimonies, both of which fall within the first century, that both in Asia Minor and Rome it was generally known *that* the Apostle Peter had suffered martyrdom by crucifixion, and *where* he suffered.

(*b.*) Now, as Rome is unanimously named by later writers in the latter half of the second century as the place of his death, we may assume that the belief of the first century was handed down to them: otherwise there would be variance in the statements made; they would not be so uniform as we find they are. Among these witnesses are Dionysius of Corinth, and Caius, presbyter in Rome (both in Euseb. ii. 25; see above, § 175), Tertullian (*Præscr. adv. Hær.* 36), Origen (in Euseb. iii. 1), Cyprian, Lactantius, and all later writers.

(*c.*) As witnesses for St. Peter's residence in Rome, we have Ignatius, *ad Rom.* 4 (also in the Syriac recension), *οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν*, which very probably refers to the personal labours of Peter among the Romans; also Clemens Alex. (in Euseb. ii. 14), and Irenæus, *Hær.* iii. 1, 3, who takes it for granted that St. Peter died in Rome.

(*d.*) With this agrees what Papias tells us upon the authority of the presbyter John, that Mark was the interpreter of St. Peter, *i.e.* obviously his interpreter in Latin. There could hardly be such agreement and coincidence in all this evidence, if it had not as its basis the fact that St. Peter had really been in Rome, and had suffered martyrdom there.

(*e.*) There is no sufficient reason to question what Origen and others tell us, that he was crucified, at his own desire,

with his head downwards, though the later testimony for this fact makes it less certain.

(*f.*) We must regard as unhistorical the story told, first by Eusebius, *H. E.* ii. 14, and in the *Clementine Homilies*, about St. Peter's meeting Simon Magus in Rome. Justin Martyr, indeed (*Apol.* ii. 26), Irenæus (i. 23), and others, tell us that Simon Magus was in Rome, had a statue erected to him, and received divine honours. Still this statement, however long recognised as true, evidently arises from a mistake of Justin, who misread the inscription on a statue dedicated to Semo Sancus, or Sangus, a Sabine divinity, as one to Simon Magus. Others blindly followed him, and added the legend that he was opposed in Rome by St. Peter, who had humbled him at Samaria.

(*g.*) Not less false is the notion that St. Peter founded the Roman Church. This is connected with the assumption, that after his deliverance from prison in Jerusalem (Acts xii. 17), or having been a short time at Antioch, he went to Rome. Thus Eusebius (*Chron. ad a.* 2 *Claud.*, cf. *H. E.* ii. 14), Jerome (*De vir. illustr.* 1), Isidore of Seville (*De vita et obitu sanctorum*), represent him as coming to Rome in the second year of Claudius (A.D. 42), and as bishop there for twenty or twenty-five years. Bertholdt and Fr. Windischmann (*Vindiciæ Petrinæ*, Regensb. 1836) maintain this as the date of his *first* coming to Rome, holding that he also came at a later date under Nero. But when the Epistle to the Romans was written (A.D. 58–59), Peter certainly had not yet been to Rome (cf. § 153), and therefore not before St. Paul arrived there; hence the gospel must have been received in Rome several years before Peter's coming thither.

(*h.*) We do not know with any certainty when St. Peter came to Rome, nor upon what occasion, nor how long he lived there before his martyrdom. The ancients, *e.g.* Dionysius of Corinth, suppose that both the Apostles Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at the same time. But it is very questionable whether this opinion has any really historical basis, or is merely a conjecture. It is at least certain, that when St. Paul wrote the Epistles to the Philippians, Phile-

mon, Colossians, Ephesians, during his first Roman imprisonment, St. Peter was not with him in Rome, and had not been with him. Nor, certainly, was he in Rome when St. Paul wrote 2d Timothy. We may suppose, therefore, *either* that he came to Rome and suffered martyrdom between the date of those four epistles and 2d Timothy, *or* that he did not come until after 2d Timothy was written: this last seems the more probable, especially if we maintain the genuineness of 1st Peter.

(*i.*) The notion that St. Peter was the first bishop of Rome is certainly groundless. Jerome (*De vir. illustr.* 1) is the first who names him as such, and represents him as holding this office twenty-five years, which is quite impossible. The first occasion of Peter's being regarded bishop of Rome was the statement of Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 4: *Λῖνος . . . πρῶτος μετὰ Πέτρον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἤδη πρότερον κληρωθεὶς δεδήλωται* (cf. iv. 1). Still the passage a little before, to which Eusebius refers, iii. 2, shows what this means (*μετὰ τὴν Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου μαρτυρίαν πρῶτος κληροῦται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Λῖνος*). The comparison of other passages also proves that Eusebius regarded Linus as the first bishop of Rome (in the strict sense), Anacletus as the second, Clemens Romanus as the third (iii. 4, 13, 14, 21). Compare also Irenæus, iii. 3: *θεμελιώσαντες οὖν οἰκοδομήσαντες, οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν.* Irenæus regards both apostles, Peter and Paul, as having preceded Linus, and as those who had been active in founding the Roman Church; but Linus he represents as the first bishop.[1]

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER.

§ 213.

This epistle describes itself as written by "Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ," to "the elect strangers (or pilgrims) of the dispersion (*διασπορᾶς*), in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia,

[1] Cf. also SACK, *Christl. Polemik*, p. 328 sqq.

Asia, Bithynia." This address, especially the word διασπορά, obliges us to think mainly of believing *Jews*; and almost all ancient and many modern expositors[1] regard the epistle as addressed to the Jewish Christians in the provinces of Asia Minor named, or to those who before their conversion had been Jewish proselytes.[2] Ch. ii. 12 certainly seems to favour this view, but it does not decide the question; and other passages seem to indicate that the writer is thinking of his readers as those who had been converted from among the Gentiles: so, in particular, ch. ii. 9, 10, iv. 3; also i. 14, 18, iii. 6. We cannot suppose that he meant *to exclude* Jewish Christians in any of the districts from among his readers, for there is no hint of this in the epistle; but his language implies that the majority of Christians in the districts named were Gentiles, and that he was therefore led to think of them mainly as his readers. A writer belonging himself to the Jewish people might apply the term used in the address (i. 1) to Christians generally in those districts; for he might regard Palestine as the home and centre of the people of God, under the new covenant as well as under the old. Still we can only imagine a Palestinian writer thus expressing himself,—one who belonged to the Jewish nation, and who wrote before the destruction of Jerusalem; at a time, moreover, when the Jews had still their central home in Judea, and were not scattered abroad; and thus we may find in this expression a proof of the early date and the genuineness of the letter.

The contents of the epistle are for the most part general and hortatory. The apostle exhorts his readers to be diligent and persevering in a holy walk and conversation among the Gentiles, in order thus to put their enemies to shame, and even to win them without words: and he then refers to the duties of various stations and relationships—of subjects to their governors, the powers that be; of servants to masters;

[1] So Erasmus, Calvin, Grotius, Augusti (*Die kathol. Briefe*, Lemgo 1801), Hug, Bertholdt, and very decidedly Weiss, *Petrin. Lehrbegriff*, Berlin 1855, p. 99 sqq.

[2] Benson, Michaelis, Credner, Neudecker, p. 697.

of husbands and wives to one another; of the elders in the Church, and of the youngers. He exhorts them, as true followers of the Lord, to bear with patience the continued misinterpretations and misrepresentations they would be exposed to, and the manifold and heavy afflictions which were impending, so that these might minister to their sanctification. He thus sets before them the pattern and example of Christ, His merits and sufferings for them, and the near approach of their redemption, and of the time of the glorious second advent of the Lord.

We meet with no personal references, save at the close of the epistle, v. 12, 13. It would appear from ver. 12 that the apostle intended to send the letter by Silvanus. This Silvanus (*τοῦ πιστοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*), doubtless, was the same citizen of Jerusalem who was appointed to convey the apostolic letter to Antioch (Acts xv.), and who afterwards was the companion of St. Paul on his second great missionary tour from Antioch to Corinth. He must have been with St. Peter when this epistle was written, and so must Mark; and their place of sojourn must have been Babylon, as we infer from v. 13. The Mark here named was most probably the evangelist: the apostle calls him his "son" in a spiritual sense; and this is all the more probable, as Peter was well known as a friend in Mark's house in Jerusalem (Acts xii. 12); and moreover, in Rome, Mark was St. Peter's interpreter (see § 47). As to the preceding words, *ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή*, it is very unnatural to understand them of St. Peter's wife, as Mayerhoff and Neander do.[1] There can be no reasonable doubt that the old interpretation is the true one, and that the Church in Babylon is meant; and when Peter wrote, we would infer from this mention of it, that he had been but a very short time among them. Nothing indeed was known by the writers of the Church of St. Peter's having been in Babylon, and having laboured there; and they accordingly understand Babylon here as the

[1] ALFORD also takes *ἡ συνεκλεκτή* to mean "the *ἀδελφὴ γύνη*, whom St. Peter *περιῆγεν*, 1 Cor. ix. 5. Still," he adds, "I own the words *ἐν Βαβυλῶνι* a little stagger me in this view."

mystical designation of Rome, which is thus denoted in the Revelation ;[1] and accordingly we have as the ordinary superscription of the epistle, ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης. This explanation is barely possible. But the preponderating probability is, that the old city Babylon on the Euphrates is meant, where, as we know from Philo, Josephus, and the Talmud, there were many Jews resident at this period. St. Peter, therefore, may have had occasion to visit this city for a longer or a shorter time, and to labour among his fellow-countrymen for the kingdom of God.

§ 214.

As to St. Peter's personal relations towards his readers, we have no trace in the epistle of his having been among them himself.[2] Many texts, on the contrary, make it probable that the gospel had not long been known and received by them, and that it had not been preached by the writer: *e.g.* ch. i. 12, 25 ; further, ch. v. 12, "testifying that this is the true grace of God in which ye stand" (read ἑστήκατε).[3] This most naturally refers to the manner in which the grace of God had been exhibited to them in the preaching of the gospel ; and the apostle here assures them, as in i. 25, that this had been rightly done, and that the gospel preached to them was the true word of God, which contains the true grace, and abides for ever. We are thus led to infer that in these Churches doubts had arisen, to which the apostle refers, and which he endeavours to calm. But he could not have done this in so general a way had he himself preached and laboured among them, and had not this epistle been his first direct communication to them. Now we know that, in the provinces named in the beginning of the letter, the

[1] So Euseb. ii. 15, Jerome, and among subsequent writers, *e.g.* Luther, Grotius, Mill, Semler, Mynster (*Kl. theol. Schr.*), Schwegler, Baur (*Theol. Jahrbb.* 1856, p. 224) ; [also Th. Schott, *Der* 1 *Br. Petri erkl.*, Erl. 1861].

[2] Certainly there is no trace of this, as Weiss thinks, in ch. v. 1: ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος.

[3] [Alford, in his notes *in loc.*, adopts the reading στῆτε ; but in his *Prolegg.* (iv. 132) he adopts the argument from ἑστήκατε.]

Galatian Churches had been founded by St. Paul; and proconsular Asia and the other districts of Asia Minor were among the countries where the gospel had been promulgated by this apostle or his companions in labour. We know, moreover, from the Epistle to the Galatians, that many of the converts in these parts had been disturbed in their faith by Judaizing teachers, who told them that the gospel preached to them was not the true gospel of God and of Christ. The same influence probably had been at work in the other Pauline Churches of Asia Minor; and this had come to St. Peter's ears. He therefore felt it to be his duty, when an opportunity offered, to put himself in communication with them, to give them fatherly warnings of various kinds, and to assure them that the gospel preached to them was truly the gospel of Christ; and that if they only persevered in their faith in the doctrine they had received, they would be recognised as brethren in Christ by the other apostles and their fellow-believers.

The immediate occasion of St. Peter's writing to these Churches was probably the fact that Silvanus, who was with him, intended to visit them. Silvanus had accompanied St. Paul on his second great missionary tour from Antioch, through Asia Minor, into Europe, and had probably helped to found the Churches in Galatia and in other districts of Asia Minor. He was also some time in Corinth with St. Paul (1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 19). Nothing is told us either in the Acts or in the Pauline Epistles about his subsequent labours. He seems no longer to have been in St. Paul's company. Whether he went from Corinth, whether back to Macedonia, to Asia Minor, or to Jerusalem, we know not. But from what we do know about him, it seems most natural to us to suppose that he continued in intercourse and connection, on the one hand with the elder apostles and the Jerusalem Church, to which he originally belonged, and by whom he had been sent on a mission of special trust and importance to Antioch, and on the other hand with St. Paul and the Pauline Churches, particularly with those Churches among whose members he had been

most active. It is not, therefore, a matter of any surprise that we should find him sojourning with St. Peter, or going to St. Peter at Babylon. But it was now his intention to revisit Asia Minor; and this it was which led the apostle to write a hortatory epistle, just such as our 1st Peter is, to the Churches which Silvanus intended to visit, and with which he had hitherto no direct connection, as well as to many other Churches, composed for the most part of Gentile believers. From what we know, through the book of the Acts and St. Paul's statements, of St. Peter's relations to the Gentile Christians, there is nothing improbable in his communicating with them thus. His conduct in Antioch (Gal. ii.) did not, as St. Paul himself showed him, correspond with his own convictions and views, but simply arose from a certain fear of man—a weakness of the same kind as was manifested in his denial of his Lord (cf. § 139).

§ 215.

As to the composition of the epistle, Jerome (Ep. 150, *ad Hedibiam*, quæst. 11) supposed, and Bertholdt still believes, that St. Peter wrote in Hebrew (Aramaic), and had his epistle translated into Greek by Silvanus or Mark. But the fact of a Greek original is witnessed by the circumstance that the words of the LXX. are adopted in quotations of or references to O. T. texts, or at least are always before the writer's mind in such a manner as could not have been had the epistle been conceived in Aramaic. Others, *e.g.* Eichhorn, Böhme (*Ep. ad Hebr. Præf.* p. xlviii.), are of opinion that St. Peter allowed a disciple of St. Paul, Mark or Silvanus, to write in his name, giving them simply the materials or topics of the letter. They are led to this opinion by the relation of 1st Peter to the epistles of St. Paul. As has been already remarked (§ 208), St. Peter knew the Epistle of James, and seems to have had in his mind several passages in it; and Semler referred in like manner to the similarity between 1st Peter and the Pauline Epistles. This similarity certainly is traceable (see De Wette, § 172, notes *a*, *b*), and is of a kind to lead us to suppose an acquaintance on the

writer's part with several of our Pauline epistles.[1] There is nothing strange or improbable in this. Considering the close connection which subsisted in the apostolic age between the various Christian Churches, and the frequent intercourse of the several Churches with Jerusalem, *e.g.* even through St. Paul himself, it is only natural that copies of the epistles which dwelt on topics of general interest should at once be circulated beyond the immediate circle of readers for whom the epistles were primarily intended. Least of all can it be thought strange that many of the Pauline epistles, immediately upon their reception, became known to St. Peter, when we bear in mind the pains St. Paul had taken to put himself in personal intercourse especially with St. Peter (Gal. i. 18); how both these apostles spent some time together (whether long or short we cannot tell) in Jerusalem and at Antioch; how their spheres of labour lay, in part at least, among the same Churches even beyond Judea, *e.g.* at Antioch and in Corinth, and what a lively interest the Apostle Peter himself must have felt in St. Paul's labours. This is all the more confirmed by the fact that, when he wrote this epistle, he was in company with two of St. Paul's friends and fellow-labourers, Silvanus and Mark. And as St. Paul was probably the first among the apostles who adopted the plan of epistolary intercourse with the Churches, we may well suppose that the character and manner of his epistles should somewhat mould the style of the letters of other Christian teachers, and should be reflected in their treatment of the different subjects dwelt upon, and even in the mode of exposition and form of expression. It has been thought that certainly from St. Peter we might have expected a greater idiosyncrasy of thought and distinctiveness of expression than our epistle presents. But we have no right to suppose this without evidence. His wavering in Antioch showed that he was not always thus unbiassed; and as a writer, we may with equal, if not greater propriety, suppose that he would not be wholly independent, but would read and follow in some degree

[1] Weiss is certainly in error when he endeavours at length to prove (pp. 374–434) that St. Paul was dependent upon St. Peter.

the writings of others, such as St. Paul and St. James. Whether St. Peter wrote the epistle with his own, or, like St. Paul, with a borrowed hand, perhaps that of Mark or of Silvanus, we cannot tell. It is quite improbable, however, that he should simply have allowed Mark or Silvanus, or any one else, to write in his name. The resemblance which is traceable with the Pauline epistles certainly gives no warrant for doubt as to the genuineness of the epistle.[1]

We have already discovered much in the epistle itself which can be naturally explained only upon the supposition of its genuineness, and of its having been written in the apostolic age. Take, for example, ch. i. 14, where the readers are addressed obviously as those who have been converted from heathenism, and not as the children or grandchildren of these converts. So, too, i. 8, which implies that the writer, in contrast with those he addresses, had himself seen Jesus (cf. v. 1); and still this fact is not emphasized in such a manner as it would be if a forger were putting the statement into Peter's mouth. Schleiermacher rightly finds in this a proof of the genuineness of the epistle. Schwegler, who regards ch. v. 12 as a statement intended to confirm the teaching of St. Paul, yet finds in it an attempt of a later Pauline writer to harmonize the divergent tendencies of the Pauline and Petrine (*i.e.* Gentile and Jewish) Christians. But a writer in the second century would have put forward an apology for the Pauline tendency in a very different and more obvious manner.

[1] This suspicion we find first in H. H. CLUSIUS (*Uransichten des Christenthums, nebst Untersuchungen über einige Bücher des N. T.*, Altona 1808, *Abschn.* 9, pp. 296–311), who supposes the writer to have been a Jewish Christian of Asia Minor. AUGUSTI wrote in reply to him, in a Jena *Programm*, 1808, **Nova, quæ* 1 *Petri ep. ἀνθενταίαν impugnat, hypothesis sub examen vocatur;* and BERTHOLDT, vi. § 667. DE WETTE also has expressed doubts as to the origin of this epistle in the various edd. of his *Einleitung;* and in the *Exeget. Handbuch.* SCHWEGLER, too, has avowed himself very strongly for its spuriousness (*Nachapost. Zeitalter*, ii. 2–21): he puts its composition in the reign of Trajan, during the first quarter of the second century, and he seems to think that it was written at Rome.

The use of this epistle in the Church, and the esteem in which it was held, witnesses fully and overwhelmingly for its genuineness. Of the seven Catholic Epistles, Eusebius reckons this only and 1st John among the Homologoumenon (*H. E.* iii. 3. 25; see § 246), and gives not the slightest hint of there having ever been any doubt concerning its apostolic origin. It is, moreover, expressly quoted as an apostolic and Petrine letter by Origen, who describes it, in contrast with 2d Peter, as an ὁμολογουμένην ἐπιστολήν (*in Matt.* tom. i.; Euseb. vi. 25); by Clemens Alex., Cyprian, Tertullian (*Scorpiace*, 12, 14; *adv. Jud.* 10), and Irenæus.[1] According to Eusebius, iii. 39, iv. 14,[2] Polycarp and Papias quoted texts from this epistle, *i.e.* they made use of it; and this is confirmed in the case of Polycarp, for in his Epistle to the Philippians we find many unmistakeable references to it.[3] No less important is it that our epistle is set forth in 2 Pet. iii. 1 as an acknowledged Petrine letter. For, supposing 2d Peter to be spurious, still it must have been written, at latest, not long after the beginning of the second century; and the passage serves as a manifest proof that our epistle was then known and recognised as genuine.

§ 216.

While regarding the genuineness of our epistle as fully established, we are obliged to place it somewhat later in the Apostle Peter's life, on account of the relation which it bears to the epistles of St. Paul and St. James. Among the Pauline epistles which the Apostle Peter seems to have had in mind in writing his, were those to the Colossians and Ephesians, written during the first Roman imprisonment.

[1] [EUSEB. v. 8: Μέμνηται δὲ (ὁ Εἰρηναῖος) καὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς, μαρτύρια ἐξ αὐτῆς πλεῖστα εἰσφέρων· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας. Cf. IREN. *adv. Hær.* iv. 9. 2, and iv. 16. 5.]

[2] [Ὁ μέντοι Πολύκαρπος ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους αὐτοῦ γραφῇ φερομένῃ εἰς δεῦρο, κέχρηταί τισι μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς.]

[3] POLYCARP, c. i. = 1 Pet. i. 8; c. ii. = 1 Pet. i. 21, iii. 9; c. v. = 1 Pet. ii. 11; c. vii. = 1 Pet. iv. 7; c. viii. = 1 Pet. ii. 24 (with the preceding verses); c. x. = 1 Pet. ii. 12, v. 5.

When St. Paul wrote these epistles, Mark was with him in Rome, but was apparently purposing (Col. iv. 10) to go into Asia Minor. Perhaps he then went on to St. Peter in Babylon, and brought a copy or abstract of the Colossian epistle with him, made either in Rome or Asia Minor. St. Peter may already have been many years in Babylon, perhaps from the time when St. Paul was imprisoned in Jerusalem. At that time it is almost certain St. Peter was not in Jerusalem. He did not come to Rome till long after, and then he sealed his faith with his blood.

THE SECOND PETRINE EPISTLE.

§ 217.

This epistle describes itself in the salutation, i. 1, as a letter of "Simon Peter, servant and apostle of Jesus Christ," and is addressed to those "who, through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, have obtained like precious faith with us," without any limitation of place; so that it would appear strictly an ἐπιστολὴ καθολική, even in a higher sense than the first Petrine epistle. But there have been many surmisings and disputes as to its origin; and in our own day, among the Protestant theologians of Germany, there are very few among those sanctioning any critical inquiry concerning the origin of the canon of Holy Scripture, who still venture to maintain its genuineness. The objections against it are more thoroughly grounded than those against any other book in the N. T. They are derived partly from the external history of the epistle in the early Church, partly from its internal structure, viewed by itself, and compared with 1st Peter, and partly from its relation to the Epistle of Jude.

I. We begin by considering the last-named point. 2d Peter, like Jude, is directed against certain men who, though within the Church's pale, sought its destruction; and both epistles present a striking resemblance in their delineation of these persons, and their mode of combating them. The coinci-

dences, indeed, are even verbal; and this is the more strange, as the characters described in the two letters are not the same. The relation between the two epistles is such, that most expositors are agreed that the writer of the one epistle knew the other, and made free use of it. In former times it was customary to regard 2d Peter as the original work;[1] but most modern expositors and critics rightly give the priority to Jude.[2] The Epistle of Jude is marked by great simplicity and naturalness in the sequence of thought, and in expression; but this is far less true of 2d Peter, where there is much far from clear in the connection and in the exposition; and the only natural explanation seems to be, that the writer endeavoured to follow and to imitate the Epistle of Jude, but not very cleverly, as is usually the case in imitations of other works. The following passages are especially to be noted here:—

(1.) 2 Pet. ii. 4 sqq. Here we have examples cited of punishments inflicted by God in ancient times upon those who rebelled against Him. The order followed in the instances, especially the last example of Sodom and Gomorrah, is very weak and inappropriate. The reference to earlier judgments in ver. 4 is made thus: "If God spared not the angels who sinned:" and corresponding with this we should naturally expect, "so will He not spare those men who, belonging to the Church of God, make themselves so unworthy of their vocation." But instead of this, the second example—that of the destruction of the old world by the flood—is put as an inappropriate anti-climax; and still more inappropriate is the instance of Sodom and Gomorrah: we should have expected examples of judgments upon those who had possessed high privileges and been admitted to special favour, and who

[1] So LUTHER; also MILL, WOLF, SEMLER, MICHAELIS, STORR (*Opusc. Acad.* ii. 411 sqq.), HÄNLEIN (*Ep. Jud.*, Erl. 1804), POTT, DAHL (*De authentia epp. Petrinæ posterioris et Judæ*, Rostock 1807); also DIETLEIN (*Der 2 Br. Petri ausgel.*, Berlin 1851).

[2] So HERDER (*Briefe zweener Brüder Jesu in unserm Kanon*, Lemgo 1775), HUG, EICHHORN, and especially ULLMANN (*Der 2 Petrin. Br. Krit. unters.*, Heidelb. 1821); JESSIEN, SCHOTT, CREDNER, NEANDER, MAYERHOFF, DE WETTE, GUERICKE, [WIESINGER].

nevertheless had proved themselves unworthy. The corresponding passage in Jude is much more appropriate (Jude 5–9). Here two instances are named—that of the perverse Israelites in the wilderness, and that of the fallen angels; and hereupon follows the reference to Sodom and Gomorrah, serving not as a third example, but in immediate connection with and as an extension of the second: for the sin of the fallen angels is described as similar to that which brought down God's judgments on Sodom and Gomorrah.

(2.) 2 Pet. ii. 11. This verse is very indistinct. It speaks of the angels, who bring not a railing judgment against each other. The words can be explained only by a reference to the corresponding place in Jude 9, where a particular case is named—that of the archangel Michael, who did not pronounce a railing judgment upon Satan. The probability is —seeing that what precedes and follows is in both epistles the same—that the writer of 2d Peter had the passage in Jude before him, and wished to appropriate the thought it contained; and, omitting the individual reference, he makes it general.

(3.) In the following verse (2 Pet. ii. 12) the *οὗτοι δὲ* is quite inappropriate and unnatural as a connection with the foregoing, whereas in the corresponding passage in Jude (ver. 10) it is quite in keeping with what precedes. The contents of the verse present a similar contrast. The words in Jude are clear and intelligible; but it is not easy to see the meaning and point of the words as they stand in 2d Peter, without a reference to Jude as their original place.

(4.) 2 Pet. iii. 2: *Τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡμῶν* [or *ὑμῶν*], *ἐντολῆς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος*. Whether we read *ἡμῶν*, or with Lachmann *ὑμῶν*, the expression is in the highest degree unnatural, and hardly construable: we cannot tell whether the pronoun is to be joined with *ἀποστόλων* or with *τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος*; or if we read *ἡμῶν*, whether it stands in apposition with *ἀποστόλων* [as in our English version, "of us the apostles"]. The one construction is as little grammatical as the other. But the corresponding statement in Jude (ver. 17) is simple and clear: *τῶν ῥημάτων τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τῶν*

ἀποστόλων τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ. The want of clearness in 2d Peter is explained by the fact that the writer wished to intimate that he was among the apostles; and as the expression in Jude did not convey this impression, he interpolated the pronoun—either ὑμῶν, agreeing with ἀποστόλων, "your apostles;" or more probably ἡμῶν, in apposition with ἀποστόλων, "of us the apostles." In 2d Peter, moreover, the prophets are named as well as the apostles; and this is not very natural in this connection, and certainly is not the more original in comparison with Jude.

We are led to the same conclusion by considering the characters against whom the epistles are respectively directed. The fact that in Jude they are spoken of as present, while in 2d Peter they are referred to as future, would seem to indicate the priority of our epistle: thus, in ii. 1–3 (ἔσονται, παρεισάξουσι), cf. iii. 3, 17. But ch. ii. 12–22 contradicts this, for there they are spoken of as present, and as having already worked mischief: cf. especially ver. 15, καταλείποντες εὐθείαν ὁδὸν ἐπλανήθησαν; ver. 17, οὗτοι εἰσὶ πηγαὶ ἄνυδροι, κ.τ.λ. It is clear, therefore, that the writer had those before him whom he describes and condemns, as clearly as St. Jude had those against whom he wrote. Now there is *one* trait in these characters as described in 2d Peter which does not appear in Jude,—namely, their mockery of the believers, who with confidence are waiting the fulfilment of the Lord's promise that He will come again, because the course of events since the beginning of the world forbids the expectation of such a catastrophe (iii. 2 sqq.). It cannot be doubted that the same persons are here meant as are spoken of in the preceding chapter, for their scorn was the outgo of the same frivolous mind which is there said to distinguish them. Now, if 2d Peter were the earlier letter, we should expect that Jude would not omit this trait in his description. Their frivolity having once for all taken this direction, the mockers would have persevered in it, seeing that the believers still clung to the hope of the speedy second coming of the Lord. But in the corresponding passage in Jude (ver. 18) mention is made in a general way of mockers walking after their un-

godly lusts. This relationship is best explained on the supposition that 2d Peter was written after the Epistle of Jude, and that the writer added this special trait to the more general description, because their frivolity had taken this special form. This is in keeping with the fact that in 2d Peter these persons are described as "false teachers" (ii. 1),—a description which we do not find in Jude. It is clear from what is said of them in 2d Peter that theoretic disbelief and error were not the cause of their immoral bearing, but *vice versa;* but when the epistle was written, these corrupters had adopted a theory of their own, so as not only to justify their frivolity, but to induce others to err in like manner. And this also indicates a later date.

If, considering all, we cannot doubt that the writer of 2d Peter had the Epistle of Jude before him, this presents a very important ground of objection against the genuineness of the former. It is very improbable, considering the position of St. Peter in the Church, that he should be obliged to have recourse to the work of another disciple—who certainly did not belong to the number of the apostles, nor occupied any position of prominence or power—in a letter of exhortation and instruction to Christians in general; nay, that he should have to adopt it almost *verbatim* in some parts. Still less can we imagine that he would have done this as it is done here, the clearness and true meaning of words being repeatedly lost in the changes made. Add to this, that the Epistle of Jude was not written long (if at all) before the destruction of Jerusalem, when the Apostle Peter was no longer living. There certainly could not have been such a space of time between the writing of St. Jude and St. Peter's death, as the idea of his having made use of St. Jude would require. Thus the relation proved to exist between 2d Peter and Jude of itself seems to lead us to the conclusion that the former is not Peter's.

§ 218.

II. The external history of the epistle in the early Church can hardly be understood without the assumption that the letter is spurious. An epistle from so distinguished an apostle

as St. Peter, written not to a private person, nor even to a small isolated Church, but to the Church at large, must, unless it were by some accident immediately lost—and this could not have been the case with our epistle—at once have become known and widely circulated; so that there could have been no doubt as to its authenticity, and it would have soon been used, if (as is the case with this epistle) its contents gave occasion for quotation by ecclesiastical writers, as possessing apostolical authority. We should certainly expect that, considering its relation to the Epistle of Jude, it would have been quoted earlier than this, and in preference; the Apostle Peter standing far higher as a Christian teacher than Jude, and the Epistle of Jude making express use of apocryphal writings, and presenting much which would early awaken suspicion, and cause hesitation in the authoritative use of it. Second Peter, on the contrary, even where the Epistle of Jude is unquestionably used, altogether passes by, or generalizes, and thus escapes, those references to apocryphal books and later Jewish legends; so that no exception has been taken against it on this score. Under these circumstances, it is very strange that the Epistle of Jude was used and quoted in the Church far more as an authority than 2d Peter,—a phenomenon which cannot well be explained if we suppose the latter genuine. Some, indeed, *e.g.* Dietlein, have endeavoured to trace references to our epistle in some parts of the apostolic Fathers and other writers of the second century. These references, if clear, would not prove that it was recognised as an apostolic writing; but upon examination they are far from clear or certain. We may indeed believe, as Guericke points out, that JUSTIN MARTYR, *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 81 (p. 308, Paris)—*συνήκαμεν καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον, ὅτι ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη, εἰς τοῦτο συνάγειν*—is quoting 2 Pet. iii. 8. Still it is far more likely that Justin had in mind Ps. xc. 4; and thus IRENÆUS likewise (*adv. Hær.* v. 23, 28). There is no ground for Schott's opinion (§ 99, note 1), which Guericke (p. 473, note 1) seems inclined to adopt, that THEOPHILUS, *ad Autol.* ii. 11 (*ed. Benedict.* c. 9), had 2 Pet. i. 21 in his mind, because there is a similarity

between the passages. Of CLEMENS ALEX., indeed, we know (from Euseb. vi. 14;[1] *Phot. Bibl. cod.* 109) that in his *Hypotyposes* he treated of the general epistles collectively, including 2d Peter. But it by no means follows that the epistle was then esteemed in the Church at large, or even in the Alexandrian Churches, as a genuine and apostolic work; for in the same *Hypotyposes* Clement includes the Apocalypse of Peter, which was never recognised by the Church. Clement's comments on our epistle have not come down to us, and we know not what he said about it. It is never quoted in the writings of Clement which we have, nor in TERTULLIAN, though both refer to the Epistle of Jude as genuine and apostolic. That IRENÆUS cannot have regarded our epistle as genuine, may with probability be inferred from *Hær.* iv. 9, where he cites 1 Pet. i. 8 thus: *Petrus ait in epistola sua.* [Cf. Clemens Alex. *Strom.* iii.: *καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὰ ὅμοια λέγει.*] The Peschito has neither 2d Peter nor Jude, and this shows that in the end of the second and the beginning of the third century neither epistle was esteemed by the Syrian Churches, which can be explained in the case of 2d Peter only on the supposition that it was not recognised in the Church as a genuine apostolic work; and this evidence is important, because in the Syrian Churches, especially in the Syrian Antioch, the Apostle Peter had laboured and was personally known.

Down to the beginning of the third century we find no certain sign that the epistle was known in any of the Churches as an apostolic letter. From this date, however, it was more widely circulated and more generally recognised. ORIGEN quotes it as Petrine, and speaks of two epistles of St. Peter; but he does so in those of his works only which are extant merely in the Latin translation of Rufinus,[2] who often in-

[1] [Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑποτυπώσεσι ξυνελόντα εἰπεῖν πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκου γραφῆς ἐπιτετμημένας πεποίηται διηγήσεις, μηδὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγομένας παρελθών· τὴν Ἰούδα λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς· τήν τε Βαρνάβα καὶ τὴν Πέτρου λεγομένην ἀποκάλυψιν.]

[2] *Homil.* vii. *in Josuam*, Opp. ed. Delarue, ii. 412; *Homil.* iv. *in Levit.* Opp. ii. 200.

dulges in arbitrary alterations, and perhaps has done so here: for Origen, *in Joann.* tom. vi. c. 18 (Opp. iv. 135), thus quotes the first epistle, *Παρὰ τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ*; and again, *in Matt.* tom. i. (in Euseb. vi. 25; see below, § 245), in like manner; and *in Joann.* tom. v. 3 (Euseb. *ib.*) he says, *Πέτρος . . . μίαν ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην κατέλειπεν· ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν· ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ.* This last statement, however, shows that the epistle was then beginning to be regarded here and there as Petrine. There are very few clear traces of the use of our epistle in the third century, and still fewer of its recognition as a genuine Petrine letter. FIRMILIAN (bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, circ. 250) alone can be named as thus recognising it; and it is probable that he did regard it as Petrine, for in a letter to Cyprian [Cypr. *Ep.* 75, p. 232, ed. Gersdorf] he says: (*Petrus et Paulus*) *in epistolis suis hæreticos exsecrati sunt et, ut eos evitemus, monuerunt.* Still Eusebius expressly says (iii. 3), *τὴν δὲ φερομένην αὐτοῦ (Πέτρου) δευτέραν οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν.* From his statements elsewhere, however, it would appear that the epistle was then generally known and used by many as a useful work side by side with the other N. T. books; and thus from the fourth century downwards it became more generally recognised as ecclesiastically canonical, and accordingly as a genuine apostolic work. Still it is undeniable that the external history of the epistle during the first three centuries is in the highest degree unfavourable to its genuineness.

§ 219.

III. A comparison of our epistle with the first and genuine Epistle of St. Peter leads us to the same conclusion. The epistles present the greatest contrast both in thought and language.[1] The main difference is, that the language of the

[1] Early writers recognised this, as we see from JEROME, *De viris illust.* i.: *Scripsit (Petrus) duas Epistolas, quæ catholicæ nominantur, quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur propter stili cum priore dissonantiam. Ep.* 120, *ad Hedibiam*, c. 11: *Denique et duæ epistolæ, quæ feruntur Petri, stilo inter se et charactere discrepant structuraque verborum.*

first epistle is somewhat rough and Hebraizing, while that of the second is more elegant and better Greek; the style of the second is more periodic, while in the first the connection of sentences is simple, and even clumsy [cf. Huther, 2d ed. p. 251]. In particulars also many differences are traceable, and Olshausen was the first carefully to point these out.[1] Some have thought that these might be explained by the supposition that St. Peter first wrote his epistles in Aramaic, and that he employed different interpreters to translate them into Greek. Thus Jerome, *ad Hedib.*, after the words just quoted: "*ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum interpretibus.*" But this conjecture is as inadmissible in the case of the second epistle as we have seen it to be in that of the first, on account of its more elegant and periodic style.

There is, moreover, a striking difference between the two epistles in the use they respectively make of the O. T. In the first epistle, St. Peter appears as one very familiar with the Jewish Scriptures, continually using and applying them for exhortation, warning, and instruction, in quite a natural and unforced manner. He not only expressly cites Old Testament texts, but very frequently adopts O. T. language as his own, without actually quoting it. In this respect the second epistle presents a marked contrast. No passages of the O. T. are cited; the writer never uses the words of the O. T. in his exhortations to his readers; and at the most there are but one or two places of which we may suppose that O. T. texts formed the groundwork—*e.g.* iii. 8, cf. Ps. xc. 4, and ii. 22, cf. Prov. xxvi. 11—though even in these it is not very probable that the writer had these O. T. texts in his mind. Still, even if he had, there is a dissimilarity in this respect affecting the entire form of the exhortation, and so marked as to be quite unaccountable, on the supposition that both epistles are the work of one and the same writer.

[1] In his two dissertations, *De integritate et authentia posterioris Petri epistolæ* (Königsb. 1822), and in his *Opuscul.* (Berlin 1834, pp. 38 sqq.). After him MAYERHOFF, p. 161 sqq.; CREDNER, p. 665 sqq.; SCHOTT, p. 422 sq.

This dissimilarity leads us to the conclusion that the writer of 2d Peter was a man of very different education and character; and consequently, as 1st Peter is certainly genuine, that 2d Peter must be spurious.

2 Pet. iii. 1 is much more easily explained on this assumption than on the supposition of its genuineness. Here the writer speaks of this epistle as the second which his readers had received, and the reference plainly is to our 1st Peter. Now St. Peter could not have spoken thus, unless he was addressing the same readers to whom he had before written. But the first epistle is addressed, not to Christians at large, but to the Churches in the provinces of Asia Minor; while the second is written to Christians in general of like precious faith with the writer, and there is no sign that it was to be sent only to those Churches of Asia Minor for whom 1st Peter was intended. St. Peter could not have expressed himself in this general way about his readers, had he simply meant those of the districts to which his first epistle was sent, and had he their wants only in his mind. There is no sign whatever in 2d Peter of any special and personal relationship between the writer and his supposed first readers. We can hardly suppose that St. Peter could have described a letter so generally addressed to his brethren in the faith as his "second epistle" to them, when the first had been written to a locally defined circle of readers, and when (considering that 1st Peter was written only a few years before his death) he could hardly suppose that it was as yet circulated throughout that circle. We should rather infer that a later writer, addressing a letter to an undefined circle of readers, or to Christians at large, in the name of an apostle whose epistle was widely spread and valued, and in order to secure a wider confidence, would thus describe his letter as the second epistle of this apostle, ignoring the fact that the first epistle was originally addressed to a circumscribed circle of readers; 1st Peter being in time regarded as the property of the Church at large, and as an ἐπιστολὴ καθολικὴ.

§ 220.

IV. Of other passages in 2d Peter very difficult of explanation on the supposition of its genuineness I will mention two, viz. i. 16 sqq. and iii. 15, 16.

(*a.*) Ch. i. 16–18. The writer must evidently mean by "the holy mount" a place known by this name when he wrote. This is very strange, because we see from the Synoptical Gospels which narrate the event, that down to the time when they wrote no special sanctity was attached to the mountain on which the transfiguration took place: it is not mentioned by name, still less thus called "the holy mount" by any evangelist. The passage thus suggests the thought of a post-apostolic age, when a certain locality had come to be regarded traditionally as the place of the transfiguration, and when the designation "holy" had been given to it on account of that event.

(*b.*) Ch. iii. 15, 16. The manner in which St. Paul's epistles are here spoken of is somewhat strange. They are mentioned collectively, not one only, but all, as writings *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, not merely known and widely spread in the Church, but as already the topic of various interpretations, on account of the obscurity and difficulty of their contents, so that "the unlearned and unstable wrest them to their own destruction, as they do also the other Scriptures (*ὡς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς*)." This last expression may either mean the O. T. Scriptures or other Christian Scriptures; but the term *αἱ γραφαί* of itself also denotes writings which were considered specially holy, which were esteemed ecclesiastically canonical; and side by side with these (by the word *λοιπάς*) the Pauline epistles are ranked. Now, though the Pauline and other apostolical epistles were soon circulated in the Church at large, and were highly prized as apostolic, still (as we shall see in the History of the Canon) some time elapsed before they began to be ranked as part of Holy Scripture, and placed side by side with the books of the O. T. as *αἱ γραφαὶ κατ' ἐξοχήν*. The passage therefore leads us with tolerable certainty to think of a time later than the apostolic age in the strict sense.

§ 221.

Seeing that the arguments we have arrayed, when viewed cumulatively, overwhelmingly prove that the epistle is not the work of the Apostle Peter, it follows that, as it claims to be his work, it was written by some later writer in St. Peter's name. Expositors have tried to devise another and intermediate alternative. (1.) Grotius thinks that the epistle was not originally written as from the pen of St. Peter, but that the author was a Simon or Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, mentioned by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 11, 32, iv. 5), who, according to Hegesippus, had himself seen the Lord, and had suffered crucifixion in extreme old age in Trajan's reign. The words in ch. i. 1, *Πέτρος* and *ἀπόστολος*, were, he thinks, subsequently interpolated on purpose to make the epistle appear as St. Peter's; and the author had written primarily two distinct letters, of which the second began with iii. 1, so that the words, "This is the *second* epistle which I write unto you," refer to ch. i. ii. as the *first*. He also thinks that ch. i. 18, iii. 15, are interpolations. (2.) Bertholdt regards ch. ii. as an interpolation from the Epistle of Jude, so that in the original Petrine epistle ch. iii. 1 followed immediately upon ch. i. (3.) J. P. Lange (*apost. Zeitalter*, i. 152 sqq.; cf. Herzog's *Encykl.* xi. 436 sq.) takes the section i. 20–iii. 3—*i.e.* from the one *τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες* to the other—as a later interpolation. (4.) Ullmann regarded ch. i. only as a genuine letter of St. Peter's, or rather as a fragment of a Petrine epistle, but ch. ii. iii. as a later interpolation; but he has given up this view. (5.) Bunsen (*Ignatius of Antioch and his Age*, Hamb. 1847, p. 175) maintains the first twelve verses [in his *Bibelwerk*, i. *Vorerinnerungen*, xliv., the first eight verses] and the concluding doxology as Petrine. But these views are quite untenable, and some of them unnatural; for it is universally acknowledged that the epistle from the first claimed to be Petrine in the form and extent in which it lies before us; and there are no traces whatever to indicate that in the early Church it was known or acknowledged in a shorter or any way different form.

§ 222.

But it is much easier thus to come to a decision concerning the spuriousness of the epistle as a whole, than to arrive at anything positive concerning its true author. As to the writer's design, it was evidently to check the baneful influence of certain men upon the Church of his time, to warn Christians generally against them; and in order to add weight to his admonitions, he couched them in words which would cause them to be regarded as the Apostle Peter's. He thus puts what he has to say of these persons in the form of a prophecy concerning them, though, as we have seen, he does not keep to this form of expression throughout. These seducers were essentially the same in character as those referred to in St. Jude, so that the writer could appropriate as his own the description given, and the censures pronounced against them in that epistle; still (*a*) they were more theoretic, and vindicated their frivolousness upon principles of their own (cf. § 217), though they had not yet become a distinct sect. (*b*) Their frivolousness was now manifested chiefly in mocking the believers on account of their confident expectation of the Lord's speedy second advent. We may suppose that these mockers lived in the same locality with the writer, so that he had them before him; but where this was we cannot tell. The character of the Greek of the epistle leads us to think of a Greek-speaking country, perhaps Alexandria or its neighbourhood, for the epistle seems first to have been known here; but it certainly was written by a writer whose mother tongue was Greek. Mayerhoff is certainly mistaken in supposing the writer to have been a *Jewish* Christian: we should rather conclude the contrary, considering the little use made of O. T. expressions, and the manner in which Jude's references to the later Jewish apocrypha and legends are omitted or altered. Still there is nothing in the epistle at variance with the O. T. revelation, but rather a recognition of its historical truth.

As to the *time* of writing. The epistle cannot be placed very early, because (1) of its relation to Jude, and the manner in which the author uses that epistle, showing that Jude

was written long before; (2) on account of the designation of the mount of transfiguration as "the holy mount," i. 18; (3) on account of the manner in which the Pauline Epistles are spoken of, iii. 15, 16, which points to a time when they were placed side by side with the books of the O. T. as Holy Scripture κατ' ἐξοχήν, and as possessing specific canonical dignity. Add to this, (4) that ch. i. 14 probably refers to John xxi. 18, and indicates an affinity with this passage. This, however, is not quite certain. But when we connect with these things the fact that we do not find indications of a knowledge of this epistle in the Church until comparatively late, we may with the highest probability assume that it was not written before the beginning of the second century, perhaps not before the middle of it.

As to the value of the epistle in a moral point of view, we cannot, of course, approve of the author's conduct in adopting such a disguise and counterfeiting another person. Still, in judging fairly of this proceeding, we must not leave out of account the fact that, in the age when it was written, such a disguise and assumption of another name was not uncommon in hortatory writings, and was not considered inadmissible even for men of earnest Christian moral sense. The epistle itself throughout teaches us to regard the writer as such,—a man whose spirit and principles were thoroughly in accord with those of the apostolic writings, and presented nothing unchristian or heretical. Against those who mocked the belief in a speedy second advent of the Lord, on the ground that the course of the world hitherto forbade the expectation of such a catastrophe, he urges, (*a*) the former great revolutions and catastrophes which had occurred at the creation and the deluge; (*b*) the truth that God's reckoning is altogether different from ours concerning the near and the distant, so that we can never say of Him, He has forgotten His promise, but, He has delayed His appearing, "not willing that any should perish, but that all might come to repentance." Believers, therefore, are to persevere in their faith with holy walk and pious mind, and to give all diligence to be found without spot and blameless in the sight of their Lord.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.

§ 223.

Three of the general epistles are attributed to John the apostle and evangelist, none of which name him expressly as the writer. In the second and the third, the writer calls himself ὁ πρεσβύτερος in the opening salutation. Still, from the beginning downwards, wherever we find these epistles used in the Church, it has been taken for granted that the writer's name was John; and differences of view arise only upon the question whether he was the apostle and evangelist, or another John,—the one, for instance, who is named by Papias as the Presbyter John. We may accordingly regard it as certain that these epistles were first put forth and circulated as the writings of a John, and with the highest probability that they were written by a John. The first epistle contains less about its author than the other two. Still from the first, whenever we find this epistle used and expressly cited, we find also the belief that it claimed to be, and really was, a work of St. John the evangelist; and we may conclude that this was the universal belief. Seeing that the writer never names himself, we cannot explain this unanimity and universality save on the ground that it was true, and that it originated with the very *first* readers who received the epistle from the writer, and who must have known him, and not from the mere conjecture or invention of later readers. A comparison of this epistle with St. John's Gospel can leave no doubt on the mind that both are by the same writer; the similarity between them is so striking and so thorough, in character, in thought and language, in distinctive representations and turns of expression, as to be utterly incomprehensible save on the supposition of identity of authorship.[1] Some scholars, however, have attributed the epistle to another writer. S. G. Lange,[2] for example, regards the Gospel and

[1] See De Wette, § 177, *a*, notes *a*, *b*.

[2] S. G. Lange, *Die Schriften Johannis übers. und erkl.* (3 parts, 1795–1797), iii. 4 sqq. Baur, *Theol. Jahrbb.* 1848, pp. 293–337. Hilgen-

the Revelation as genuine writings of St. John, but supposes that the first epistle was written a century later by an imitator who wished to be taken for St. John. Weisse, on the other hand, considers that the epistle is genuine, but the Gospel spurious. Baur, Hilgenfeld, and other theologians of the Baur school hold that both Gospel and epistle are spurious, and attribute them to different writers; regarding the Gospel (as Baur, *Theol. Jahrbb.* 1857) or the epistle (as Hilgenfeld) as comparatively the older, and as imitated by the author of the other. But the resemblances between the two are not such as to suggest an artificial imitation: they can be naturally explained only as having proceeded from one and the same writer. See also Grimm, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1847, i. 171–187.

As, therefore, the fourth Gospel is, in our view, unmistakeably the work of the Apostle John, this epistle is with equal certainty the work of the same apostle. Among the external witnesses for its genuineness may be named Polycarp, *ad. Philipp.* 7; Papias, in Euseb. iii. 39 (see § 89); Irenæus (see above, § 215; and *adv. Hær.* iii. 16. 5, 8); Clemens Alex. (see § 218, 226); Origen (see § 245); Tertullian (*adv. Prax.* 15; *Scorpiace,* 12). The internal evidence is no less conclusive. The author writes in ch. i. 1–4, iv. 14, as an immediate disciple of the Lord, who bears witness of what he had himself seen and heard. The epistle does not in the remotest degree give one the impression of its being the work of a man falsely endeavouring to make believe that he was an eye-witness. Such a writer would have proceeded more artfully and with greater pains, and would have given greater prominence to the apostolic character and authorship. De Wette, in his *Exeg. Handbuch,* truly observes that the forger must have proceeded with incredible finesse and subtlety; for he does not name the apostle, but indicates that St. John is the writer only indirectly, and in the most simple and natural manner.

FELD, *Das Ev. u. die Briefe Joh. nach ihrem Lehrbegr. dargestellt,* Halle 1849, 322–355; *Theol. Jahrbb.* 1855.

§ 224.

As the epistle does not name the writer, so neither does it specify the readers primarily addressed. Michaelis, and others following him, have regarded the work not so much as an epistle, but as an essay or dissertation. This view is, we think, untenable. The fact that in the beginning there is no salutation, nor even a general description of the readers addressed (as we find even in St. Jude), is only in keeping with the circumstance (as in the Epistle to the Hebrews) that the writer does not name himself. This mode of address is not essential to the epistolary character of the treatise. Still the apostle addresses his readers throughout in the second person, speaks to them in words of exhortation and admonition which could only be used in a hortatory work, and refers to their distinctive needs and experiences,—experiences which could not have been universal and irrespective of place, but which were peculiar to a certain circle of readers. We are therefore fully justified, like all early writers, in regarding the work as an epistle, containing warnings and instructions addressed personally to certain readers.

In like manner, I think, we may, with all the earlier writers of the Church, view the epistle as a work complete in itself. It has in modern times been placed in close connection with the Gospel, as if published with the Gospel, as a prolegomenon to it, or an argumentative or hortatory appendix, or as a letter of recommendation for the Gospel. In support of this opinion, ch. i. 1–3 is referred to as containing a direct reference to the Gospel. Others at least infer from this that it was written after the Gospel. Thus Lücke (ed. 1 and 2), and De Wette also, who inclines to this opinion. But there is no reference either there or elsewhere in the epistle to the Gospel as a written work, and there is nothing in the comparison of the two to justify the conclusion that the epistle was written last. It may quite as well have been written first, if we only suppose that St. John himself knew the contents of his Gospel, and the views there given of Christ's person and work, and often stated them orally in his teaching before he committed them to writing in his great

evangelic work. Considering, however, the close affinity between the two, it is not improbable that they were written pretty nearly together. Some have supposed that in the epistle they could discover traces of a more advanced age, in the greater latitude and looseness of statement, circumlocution and repetition, which it presents in comparison with the Gospel. But this inference is mainly drawn from the epistolary character of 1st John, and may also be explained as answering to the more modest and unpretentious character of a letter, as distinct from the more concise and dignified style of such a work as the Gospel.

As to the readers whom the apostle has in his mind, they were evidently Christians with whom he was personally acquainted; and as he does not name them, we may suppose that they were the believers among whom he lived. If we are right in saying that the composition of the epistle was not far removed in point of time from that of the Gospel, we may suppose that the former was written during the apostle's residence in Asia Minor and in Ephesus, but not, as many think, intended for the Ephesian church alone, but for the Christians generally in that district. That it was not written during the apostle's residence in Judea, may be with tolerable certainty inferred from ch. v. 21, τεκνία, φυλάξατε ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων; for this implies that those primarily addressed, and immediately before the apostle's mind, were converts from heathenism, and being surrounded still by heathens, were in danger of being seduced again into idolatry. It was a generally received opinion in the Latin Church, that the epistle was primarily addressed to the Parthians. Augustine, indeed (*Quæst. Evang.* ii. quæst. 39), quotes it as *epistola ad Parthos*; and thus we find it described by other Latin writers, and in the superscription of the epistle in many MSS. of the Latin version. How this view came into vogue we cannot tell; no conjectures about it have much probability in them. But we may with certainty conclude that this was not (as Grotius, Paulus, and others believe) the real destination of the epistle; for we have no proof whatever that St. John ever laboured

among the Parthians, or had any personal connection with the churches, if such there were, of that country. Neither this title, nor this view of its destination, is traceable in the Greek Church, and there is no hint whatever of it before Augustine.

§ 225.

As to the *design* and *contents* of the epistle, it is a letter wherein the apostle urges his readers to lay to heart, as the essence of Christianity—and to this he continually recurs —faith in Jesus as the Christ who has come in the flesh and the Son of God, and love to the brethren, because the one cannot exist without the other; and he warns them against those who, as antichrists, endeavoured to seduce them. It has been much disputed who these persons were against whose corrupting influence the apostle so strongly admonishes his readers. Some have taken them to be Jewish or Judaizing teachers of the law; others suggest Cerinthus, others the disciples of the Baptist, others Gnostics, and especially Docetæ (see De Wette, § 179, *a*). Tertullian (*de carne Christi*, c. 24) and Dionysius Alex. (Euseb. vii. 25) supposed that the Docetæ were referred to; and this is expressly stated in a Greek scholion on ch. iv. 3. Lücke has in modern times espoused this view, and after him Credner; so also De Wette, Schleiermacher, Neander, Baur, Hilgenfeld, Reuss, Huther,[1] and others. But this view is, in my opinion, erroneous. Docetism, properly so called, did not make its appearance until after the apostolic and Johannic age. Reference, indeed, is made by Lücke and others to Cerinthus and the Ignatian Epistles in proof that Docetism was known in Asia Minor at this time. But the Cerinthian view of Christ's person was quite different from the Docetic, and cannot here be taken into account. And as to Ignatius, we find many passages in both the Greek recensions of his epistles which are directed against Docetism, viz. in the Epistles to the Churches at Smyrna, Tralles, and Ephesus.[2] But pro-

[1] Abth. xiv. of MEYER'S *Comm.* 1855, 2d ed. 1861.

[2] *Ad Smyrn.* c. 2 sqq.; *ad Trall.* c. 9; *ad Eph.* c. 7.

bably none of these passages really belong to Ignatius, but to a later interpolator, perhaps in the third century; for the Syriac recension does not contain the two first of these epistles, and the special passage quoted from the Epistle to the Ephesians is wanting. 1 John iv. 2 and 2 John 7 are also appealed to. Here *ἐν σαρκί* is considered as used with special reference to Docetism, and accordingly the first-named passage is translated, "Every spirit is of God who confesses that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, and not in a merely shadowy corporeity;" and in like manner the passage in the second epistle. But if we compare other passages in the epistle where these false teachers are referred to, we shall find it quite improbable that the apostle had this special form of false doctrine with reference to Christ's person in his mind. See, for example, the passages wherein (*a*) he describes *that* alone to be antichrist and falsehood which denies that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, because this is to deny the Father, or not to confess Jesus; and (*b*) he describes faith in Jesus, the faith that Jesus is the Son of God, or the Christ, to be the truth, the essence of the Christian religion. For the first (*a*), see ch. ii. 22, 23, and iv. 3, which immediately follows the supposed anti-Docetic verse, where the words of the received text, *ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα*, are certainly spurious. For the second (*b*), see ch. iv. 15, v. 1, 5, 10. There is therefore the highest probability that the words in ch. iv. 2 must not be taken as in a purposely anti-Docetic sense, but more generally, which is conformable equally to the words themselves and to the context. They may grammatically be rendered thus: "he who confesses that Jesus has come in the flesh," *i.e.* that He has appeared on earth. For the union of two accusatives with *ὁμολογεῖν*, see John ix. 22, Rom. x. 9. The apostle has simply those persons before him who, though previously belonging to the Christian Church, had apostatized from Christianity (ii. 19), or no longer entertained a full trust in Jesus as the Christ and the Son of God, and who did not fully manifest the fruits of the Christian faith in their life, by brotherly love one towards another.

We may notice in a critical point of view the passage in

v. 7, 8, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ . . . . ἐν τῇ γῇ. This has usually been regarded as a main proof of the Church's doctrine of the Trinity; but it is certainly spurious, both on internal and especially on external grounds. It is an interpolation belonging to a much later date, and had its origin in the Latin Church, being inserted in the Vulgate, and thence adopted in some other old versions and in some of the later Greek MSS. as a translation from the Latin. We find no trace of these words in any of the Greek writers of the Church before the middle of the fourteenth century, nor in the Latin writers before the fifth century; and as the words are wanting in almost all Greek MSS., so also are they omitted in upwards of fifty MSS. of the Vulgate, and these the oldest, and in all other old versions. See Griesbach, *Appendix ad N. T.* tom. ii. pp. 1–25. Luther, moreover, regarded the text as spurious, and left it untranslated: it occurs in no editions of his translation revised by himself, and among the editions of it in the Lutheran Church the earliest that has it is the folio edition, Frankfort 1593. It is hardly right repeatedly to print it still, when it really belongs neither to the Greek text nor to Luther's version.[1]

THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN.

§ 226.

We have already observed that the writer of these two epistles, without giving his name, calls himself ὁ πρεσβύτερος, and that from the very first the belief prevailed in the Church that the writer's name was John; a circumstance which clearly points to the fact that his name was really John. On this supposition alone can we understand how it was that the knowledge of this as the author's name was circulated with the epistles; for those to whom they were written must have known the writer without any mention of his name, and through them he would come to be known as

[1] [It is quite unaccountable why STIER still retains the words in an "amended" translation of the Scriptures.—B.]

John among those to whom they showed the letters, and thus the information would spread. But if, on the contrary, the writer's name was not John, the representation that it was could never have become universal in the Church, seeing that the epistles themselves do not give it. Least of all could we believe that a later writer could have composed these letters, so as to get them received as John's. Such a writer would not fail definitely to name John as the author; because if he did not, he could not expect that any one would think just of *him*. Accordingly, the genuineness of these epistles has seldom been doubted or called in question; but they have generally been treated as the letters of the Apostle John, the author of the Gospel, and of the first epistle; or of another John, John the Presbyter, named by Papias (in Euseb. iii. 39). The early Fathers thought of the latter. This is Eusebius' view, who reckons both epistles among the Antilegomena, it being doubtful whether they were written by the evangelist or by another John (*H. E.* iii. 25; see below, § 246). Jerome,[1] moreover, says that the usual belief was that the Presbyter John was the author. Still Jerome has expressed himself too strongly and generally as to the opinion in his own time, and earlier. The epistles, even in his time, were certainly attributed to the Apostle John; and this was the case after Jerome's time, both in the Latin and in the Greek Church, and before Jerome's time likewise. Even Eusebius supposes them to have been the writings of John the apostle (*Demonstr. evang.* iii. 5). Before the time of Eusebius we find our epistles cited and used, not very frequently — which, considering their contents and range, is not surprising—yet occasionally; especially 2d John, and usually as an apostolic letter. Origen, indeed, speaks doubtfully (Euseb. vi. 25; see § 245) concerning their

[1] [*De viris illust.* c. 9: *Scripsit autem (Joannes) et unam epistolam . . . quæ ab universis ecclesiasticis et eruditis viris probatur. Reliquæ autem duæ. . . . Joannis presbyteri asseruntur, cujus et hodie alterum sepulchrum apud Ephesum ostenditur. Ib.* c. 18: *Opinionem, quam a plerisque retulimus traditam, duas posteriores epistolas Joannis non apostoli esse, sed presbyteri.*]

origin, and says that all did not consider them genuine.[1] But Dionysius Al.[2] seems to recognise them as the letters of the same John who wrote the first epistle and the Gospel, and the same opinion is held by all the subsequent Church writers of Alexandria. Before Origen's time, Clement of Alexandria probably treated of these epistles in his *Hypotyposes* (see above, § 218): those on 2d John are in Latin, and he treats the epistle as undoubtedly the Apostle John's. With this agrees what he says of 1st John (*Strom.* ii. 38), *Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ μείζονι ἐπιστολῇ*,—an expression which shows that he must have regarded the smaller epistles as St. John's likewise. Irenæus, *Hær.* i. 13 (ed. Grabe), cites 2 John 11 as a declaration of "John the disciple of the Lord,"[3] clearly meaning the apostle. In the Fragment of Muratori (see § 242), the passage concerning the Johannine epistles is corrupt and indistinct; but mention is certainly made of two epistles of John, as immediately before we have the epistles of John spoken of in the plural, the John referred to being clearly the apostle. The author seems to have known and to have cited 2d John as well as 1st John as a work of the apostle. No use is made of these epistles in the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian; but at a synod held at Carthage under Cyprian, the Bishop Aurelius of Chullabi gave his vote with the words in 2 John 10, 11, quoting them as the words of the Apostle John. The Peschito does not contain these epistles; whence it might be surmised that when this translation was made,

[1] [*Εν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ μνήμην τῆς οἰκείας προσηγορίας ποιεῖται, ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ ἀπόστολον, οὐδὲ εὐαγγελιστήν.*]

[2] [In EUSEBIUS, vii. 25: *Ὁ δὲ εὐαγγελιστὴς οὐδὲ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς προέγραψεν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα . . . ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένῃ Ἰωάννου καὶ τρίτῃ, καίτοι βραχείαις οὔσαις ἐπιστολαῖς, ὁ Ἰωάννης ὀνομαστὶ πρόκειται, ἀλλ' ἀνωνύμως ὁ πρεσβύτερος γέγραπται.*]

[3] [*Ἰωάννης δὲ, ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητὴς, ἐπέτεινε τὴν καταδίκην αὐτῶν, μηδὲ χαίρειν αὐτοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν λέγεσθαι βουληθείς· ὁ γὰρ λέγων αὐτοῖς, φησί, χαίρειν, κοινωνεῖ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν τοῖς πονηροῖς.* Cf. *Hær.* iii.: *Et discipulus ejus in prædicta epistola* (1 *Joh.*) *fugere eos præcepit dicens. Multi seductores exierunt in hunc mundum, qui non confitentur*, etc. (2 John 7, 8).]

and the Canon settled in the Syrian Church, they were not esteemed as canonical. But nothing can clearly be inferred from this, except that, being private letters, they may have been regarded in their design and contents as inappropriate to be inserted in the Canon for the use of the Church at large.

The external evidence, therefore, regarding these epistles is not by any means unfavourable to the authorship by the Apostle John: it rather shows that, ever since the epistles were known in the Church, they were regarded as his writings, and the notion did not arise until afterwards that they were written by another John. This latter view has been variously advocated, and by several critics—by Erasmus, Grotius, Ch. F. Fritzsche, Credner, Jachmann, and Ebrard.[1] This seems to be Schleiermacher's view with reference to 2d John, which he speaks of as compiled from the first epistle, and with reference to 3d John, which he regards as a poor imitation of other writings, and from a later hand. As to this last supposition, it would certainly have been possible, when 2d John had been circulated and recognised as a Johannine letter, for a forger to put forth another letter like it, which should pass as St. John's by his adoption of the same title ὁ πρεσβύτερος. But there would be no sufficient motive to do this for such an epistle as 3d John. This epistle so closely resembles 2d John in character and in language, that we cannot hesitate in attributing them to one and the same author; and both bear the impress of truth and simplicity, and witness in their very form and style that they embody the actual sentiments of the writer, and that the circumstances presupposed in them were real and unfeigned.

Indeed, the internal evidence is overwhelming in favour of their apostolic and Johannine authorship. The idea that the Presbyter John is meant seems to be favoured by the use of the term ὁ πρεσβύτερος. But that second John named

[1] Ch. F. Fritzsche, *Bemerkungen über die Joh. Briefe*, in *Henke's Museum f. Religionswissenschaft*, iii. 1, p. 159 sqq., 1805. Jachmann, *Comm. über die Kath. Briefe*, Leipz. 1838. [Ebrard; Olshausen's *Comment.* 1859, vol. vi. 4.]

by Papias was called by this title clearly on account of an office which he held in the Church he belonged to; and it is very unlikely that he should thus in private letters mention his office without his name,—an office which he held in common with so many in the various Churches, and which perhaps was held by others besides himself in the particular community to which he belonged. Credner, indeed, thinks that ὁ πρεσβύτερος as used by Papias does not simply mean an office of this second John, but denotes his age as older than the Apostle John. This is certainly erroneous; but even if it could be true, it would be very improbable that he would designate himself in his letters as ὁ πρεσβύτερος, without adding his name, simply because he was older than another John. By far the most probable is it that the name has reference to the age of the writer, who calls himself ὁ πρεσβύτερος with reference not to another John, but to those to whom he is writing, or simply because of his great age (see Philem. 9).[1] We can well understand how a teacher now far advanced in years might use this title in writing confidentially to a younger Christian friend closely connected with him, and there is nothing in the title inappropriate to the Apostle John. It by no means tells against him as the writer (as Credner urges), that in these two letters he personally appears more prominently than in the first epistle. This is explained by the purely personal character of both these private letters, as compared with the more general design and contents of 1st John. Both epistles, moreover, present such an affinity with 1st John in ideas, exposition, and language, both generally and in particulars (see De Wette, § 180, *b*, note *b*), as to lead us to attribute them to the same writer; for this affinity cannot, as we have seen, be explained as an imitation. The little that is peculiar to these epistles as distinct from the first epistle and the Gospel, is not of a character to warrant the supposition that they have come from a different hand, and is far outweighed by the points of resemblance.

[1] So already ŒCUMENIUS explained it, 2 John 1: γεραιὸς ὢν ἤδη.

§ 227.

Contemplating these two epistles separately with reference to their contents, their object and occasion, we find that 2d John is addressed (ver. 1) to an ἐκλεκτὴ Κυρία and her children. Some have taken this to be a designation for the Christian Church in general, or for some one particular Church. The former—which we find, *e.g.*, in Jerome (*Ep.* 11 *ad Ageruchiam*)—is quite untenable, if we consider ver. 13, where the writer sends a greeting to the ἐκλεκτὴν Κυρίαν from her sister's children. Hammond, Calovius, Michaelis, Augusti, Baur (*Theol. Jahrbb.* 1848, p. 328 sq.), Ewald (*Jahrbb. d. bibl. Wiss.* iii. 180, "the elect and honourable," κυρία being taken as an adjectival; so in *Die Joh. Schriften*, i. 510), Huther, take the expression to denote some one particular Church; but this use of κυρία by the apostle would be altogether unnatural. From this term, and from the letter as a whole, we are fully warranted in concluding that some one Christian woman with her children is here addressed, and that ἐκλεκτή is not her name, as Clement of Alex., Grotius, Wetstein, and others think, but is simply an appellative or adjective, as in ver. 13 it is applied to the lady's sister. Κυρία is her name (as first Heumann, then Bengel, Lücke, De Wette, Credner, and others maintain); and Κυρία often appears as a woman's name, like Κύριος for a man. Others take both words as appellative, "the elect lady." So the Vulgate, Luther, Wolf, Schleiermacher, Sander (*Comm. zu d. Br. Joh.*, Elberf. 1851), also Knauer (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1833, ii. pp. 452–458). The last-named writer holds that Mary the mother of our Lord is meant, and that the apostle writes to her in Galilee from Jerusalem. But—apart from other considerations—if this were so, the letter would certainly have been written in Aramæan, and not in Greek, which is evidently its original. The contents, moreover, of the letter, its hortatory and didactic style, make it quite unlikely that the writer stood in such relations to the elect Κυρία and her children as those of St. John to Mary and the sisters of Jesus.

The apostle in this letter expressed to Κυρία his joy in

finding that some of her children walk in truth: he exhorts them to brotherly love, and warns them earnestly against false teachers, who did not confess that Jesus Christ had come in the flesh, and who thus proved themselves to be Antichrists. He expresses the hope soon to see *Κυρία* and her children, and sends greetings from her Christian sister's children, who must have been at the time in the same place with the apostle. If this was his usual residence, *Κυρία* must have lived elsewhere, perhaps in the neighbourhood. Possibly the apostle and *Κυρία* lived in the same place; but he was now on a journey in the course of which he wrote this letter. But the other conjecture is the more probable, judging from the manner in which (ver. 12) he expresses the hope soon to come to her. Accordingly the epistle may have been written from Ephesus; for the appellation *ὁ πρεσβύτερος* leads us to place the epistle late in the apostle's life, and somewhere about the same time as 1st John: for in ver. 7 the false teachers are spoken of similarly to the notices of them in 1st John. We know not which epistle was the earlier; probably our first epistle.

§ 228.

The *third* epistle is addressed to a Christian brother named Caius (or Gaius). Several individuals bearing this name, and belonging to the Christian Church, are mentioned in the N. T. (*a*) A Caius at Corinth, whom St. Paul had baptized, and whom he calls "mine host, and of the whole Church" (1 Cor. i. 14; Rom. xvi. 23). (*b*) Caius, a Macedonian, who is named as with the Apostle Paul during his residence at Ephesus, and as his fellow-traveller (Acts xix. 29). (*c*) A Caius of Derbe is named in Acts xx. 4 as one of St. Paul's companions in travel on his journey from Macedonia to Asia Minor and Jerusalem; but he perhaps is the same as (*b*), and was called a Macedonian on account of his having long resided there. This may possibly have been the Caius of our epistle. But the name is such a common one, that St. John's friend may have been another Caius. According to a comparatively late tradition, it was the Caius of this epistle who

first brought St. John's Gospel into notice; but this can hardly be admitted.

The Apostle John had heard from travelling brethren much that was good concerning Caius, especially his love and hospitality towards the brethren travelling in the service of the gospel. He therefore praises him in this epistle, commending Christian hospitality generally. According to vers. 10, 14, St. John intended soon to visit the Church to which Caius belonged. He had written to this Church (ver. 9) before, or was sending a letter to them, together with this to Caius. The epistle referred to could not have been 1st John (as some have supposed), nor our 2d John, as others think, but a lost epistle to the Church in which he commended hospitality. One Diotrephes, who was ambitious of pre-eminence in the Church, had opposed him, and refused to receive the brethren recommended by the apostle, and even indulged in arbitrary acts towards those who would receive them. A certain Demetrius (unknown to us) is, on the contrary, highly commended; but he does not seem to have been a member of the same Church, but one of the brethren sent by St. John, and perhaps the bearer of this epistle.

This epistle was likewise written in the latter years of the apostle's life, probably at the same time with 2d John, the apostle having intended to visit the Church of Caius as well as that of the elect Kyria on the same journey. Whether they both belonged to one and the same Church or to different Churches we cannot tell. Lücke thinks the latter, because the epistles contain no allusion to one another; and this opinion is perhaps the more probable, supposing at least that both letters were written at the same time.

THE REVELATION.[1]

§ 229.

No book of the New Testament has been the subject of more numerous controversies and greater diversity of opinion than has this, both with reference to its author and origin generally, and as to its purpose, its interpretation, and its value.

First, as to its *author*, in early as well as in modern times three different opinions have in the main been held. The book describes itself as the work of a JOHN, to whom its contents were made known by revelation, and who recorded what he saw, describing himself as "a servant of Jesus Christ, and a brother and companion" of those for whom he wrote "in the tribulation and kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ:" to him the revelation was made in the isle that is called Patmos (i. 1, 4, 9, xxii. 8). According to this, it first occurs to us to think of St. John the apostle and evangelist as the writer. We find the Revelation unhesitatingly attributed to him by the Fathers from the middle of the second century downwards, by Justin Martyr,[2] Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian,[3] and others. But soon we find two other views advocated side by side with this: the one, that the book was forged as the Apostle John's by another writer, and indeed by the Judaizing heretic Cerinthus (thus thought the Alogi, who held the same opinion concerning St. John's Gospel (see § 62); and thus the Roman Presbyter

[1] [Cf. Dr. FRIEDRICH BLEEK'S *Vorlesungen über die Apokalypse, herausg. von Lic.* TH. HOSSBACH, Berlin 1862.]

[2] [*Dial. c. Tryph. Jud.* c. 81: Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσειν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντες προεφήτευσε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ, συνελόντι φάναι, αἰωνίαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γεγήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν. On the question whether PAPIAS knew the Apocalypse, and regarded it as an apostolic work, see BLEEK'S *Vorlesungen*, p. 25.]

[3] [*Adv. Marc.* iii. 14: *Nam et apostolus Joannes in Apocalypsi ensem describit ex ore Dei prodeuntem*, etc. *Ib.* iv. 5.]

Caius, for we are probably right in assuming that he has our book of the Revelation in his mind when he speaks of revelations which Cerinthus had falsely attributed to a great apostle);[1] and the other, that of Dionysius of Alexandria, who (*sec.* 3 *med.*), in the second book of his treatise περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν, in Eusebius, vii. 25, endeavoured to prove that the *Evangelist* John could not have written the Apocalypse, but that the book was the work of *another* John; and to this view Eusebius himself inclines.[2]

We find the same differences of view among modern writers. Many still maintain that the Apocalypse is the work of the Apostle John; *e.g.* Eichhorn, Hug, Bertholdt, Guericke, Kolthoff (*Apoc. Joanni apost. vindicata*, Copenhagen 1834), Ebrard (*Kritik d. Evang. Gesch.* 2d ed. § 140; *Das Ev. Joh.* pp. 137–217), Hofmann (*Weissagung u. Erfüllung*, ii. 300 sqq., Nördl. 1844), Thiersch, Hengstenberg (*Die Offb. des heil. Joh.*, 2 vols. in 3 parts, Berlin 1849–51, 2d ed. 1861), and others. Some who deny that St. John wrote the Gospel have attributed the Revelation to him; *e.g.* Züllig (*Die Offb. Johannis vollstandig erklärt*, 2 vols., Stuttg. 1834, 1840), Schwegler (*Nachap. Zeitalter*, ii. 249), Baur (*Kanon. Evv.* pp. 345 sqq.), Zeller (*Theol. Jahrbb.* 1842, pp. 654 sqq.); but most of those who attribute it to the Apostle John endeavour to prove this from the resemblance between it and the Gospel and epistles. Others, again, hold that it was forged in the name of the Apostle John.[3] Thus it has been regarded as a forgery of Cerinthus by Oeder (1769), Semler, Stroth (1771), Mich. Merkel (1782, 1785); as the work of a rabbinically learned Christian of Laodicea, by Lützelberger. Lücke also (*Vers. einer vollst. Einl. in die Offb. Joh. u. in die gesammte apokal. Litteratur*, 1st ed., Bonn

[1] In a treatise against the Montanist Proclus [in EUSEB. iii. 28: Ἀλλὴ καὶ Κήρινθος ὁ δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τετραλογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένας ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει.]

[2] *H. E.* iii. 39: Εἰκος γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον ['Ιωάννην], εἰ μήτις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματος φερομένην 'Ιωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν ἐωρακέναι.

[3] [So also, in a certain sense, VOLKMAR, *Comm. zur Offb. Johannes*, Zurich 1862.]

1832) once advocated the view that the book was composed by another writer in the apostle's name, not with an intention to deceive, but making a revelation given to St. John, and told him by word of mouth, the groundwork of the book, and enlarging it after his own manner. But Lücke has since (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1836, part iii. 654 sqq., and the 2d ed. of his *Einl. in die Offb.* 1852) espoused the view which attributes the book to another John, a different person from the apostle, who wrote in his own name. This opinion had been before advocated by Heinrichs (vol. x. of *Koppe's N. T.* 1818), and I also had espoused the same view in 1820, and still abide by it.[1] So also do Ewald, Credner, De Wette, Neander, Düsterdieck, and others.[2]

As to the *time* of writing, it has been a topic of inquiry in modern times whether it was written before or after the destruction of Jerusalem. A difference of opinion is traceable on this point among the early writers of the Church; but most of the Fathers, the earlier Fathers especially, adopt the latter hypothesis, and place it (as *e.g.* Irenæus) in the reign of Domitian. This is the view of Eichhorn, Hofmann, Thiersch, Ebrard, Hengstenberg; but most modern scholars, and even those who deny its apostolic authorship, place it before the destruction of Jerusalem, under Galba or Vespasian (see § 235).

§ 230.

Manifold are the theories maintained concerning the *design* of the book as a whole, and the meaning of its several parts. The beliefs, tendencies, and expectations prevailing at any given time in the Church have influenced the estimate

[1] In my *Beiträg zur Krit. u. Deutung d. Offb. Joh.*, in Schleiermacher, De Wette, and Lücke's *Theol. Zeitschr.* ii. (Berlin 1820), pp. 240–315; and again in my *Beitr. z. Ev. Kritik*, pp. 182–200. Cf. also my *Recension* of Lücke, ed. 2, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1854, part iv., and 1855, part i. [also BLEEK'S *Vorlesungen über die Apokalypse*, edited by HOSSBACH].

[2] EWALD, *Comm. in apocal. Joh.*, Leipz. 1828. [*Die Joh. Schriften übersetzt u. erklärt*, vol. ii.; *Johannes' Apokalypse*, Gött. 1862.] Cf. *Jahrbb. d. bibl. Wiss.* v. 179 sqq., viii. 100 sqq. [DÜSTERDIECK, Abth. xvi. of MEYER'S *Comm. z. N. T.*]

formed of its value, and this estimate has depended in part upon the views held as to its author and its origin. In general, there can be no doubt, and indeed it is almost universally recognised, that the book contains references to the future of the Church and its final consummation, here embodied in visions made to the John who describes himself as the writer. But the questions mainly in dispute are these: (*a*) Whether the visions which precede those depicting the completion of God's kingdom form *one* connected series, shadowing forth events and catastrophes to be accomplished successively, one after another; or whether they are several series running parallel to each other, so that the same events and catastrophes set forth in one series are presented in another aspect of them in another series. (*b*) How far the descriptions given of the consummation of God's kingdom, and in the preceding visions, are to be taken literally in the sense of the book itself, or figurative only, symbolically and spiritually. This has mainly to do with the numbers given, *e.g.* the thousand years in ch. xx. 3 sqq., and others. (*c*) Whether and how far the book as a whole possesses a truly prophetic character with reference to the future history and development of the Church; whether it presents a trustworthy revelation of the main outlines and general features simply, or also of particulars; or whether it be simply a poetic embodiment of the author's individuality and imagination. The decision of this last question was in early times usually considered as dependent upon the view taken of the authorship of the work, whether or not it was an apostolic writing. They who regarded it as apostolic, and as the pure and simple embodiment of one or more visions actually made to the apostle by the Lord, felt themselves justified and even pledged to believe that actual events must exactly correspond with them. Hence arose (*a*) the belief that the history of the Church already past, with its various eras, crises, and events, was reflected in the book—so that it became matter of inquiry in what parts of the book this was traceable,—and (*b*) the disposition of Christians of various sects and at different times to fancy that their own age, with the relations, conflicts, opponents, with which they in par-

ticular had to do, was portrayed. Hence the exposition of no book in Holy Scripture has been of so subjective a character as has that of the Apocalypse; and it is only in our own day that it has become more objective, owing in part to a freer view of the character of the prophecy.

As to the thousand years, these during the first three centuries were generally taken as referring to a future period to be ushered in by the second advent of Christ, and the state of the Church during that period: the millennial reign, as it is called, was explained sensuously or spiritually, according to the idiosyncrasy of each expositor. Origen, and those who followed him, advocated the spiritual interpretation, in opposition to the grossly literal and sensualistic view designated Chiliasm. As chiliastic representations gradually disappeared, it was usual, especially in the West, since the time of Augustine, to understand the thousand years as beginning with the first advent of Christ, His incarnation, and continuing onwards to the last days and the completion of God's kingdom. It was accordingly believed, as this view gained ground, that the end of the world would come in A.D. 1000; and towards the end of the tenth century the minds of Christians in the West were greatly stirred. But when the year 1000 passed without any special catastrophe, the belief became more general, which had already been espoused by some, side by side with the prevailing one, that the thousand years were not to be taken as literal years, according to our reckoning, but as an apocalyptic and symbolical number. The opponents of Christ and God's kingdom, described in the Apocalypse, were taken, during the first Christian centuries, and while Rome and the Roman empire continued hostile to Christianity, as referring to these. Later, when Mohammedanism arose and spread, it was customary to find Mohammed and his doctrine depicted therein. So, in particular, in the time of the Crusades. Still, even then, other views are traceable, suggested by the circumstances of the times. During the struggles of the Romish Church with the imperial house of Hohenstaufen,[1] the votaries of the

[1] See MILMAN'S *Latin Christianity*, book viii. ch. vii.

former regarded the latter as Antichrist, or the worldly power designated "the beast" (Rev. xiii. 1 sqq.); and in the conflicts of the Church with the sects and heresies which spread about the end of the twelfth century, "the false prophet" (Rev. xiii. 11 sqq.) was taken to indicate these; while the opponents of the Romish hierarchy began to regard the papacy itself as "the beast" of the Apocalypse, and the false prophet. This last belief was held by the strict Franciscans in the thirteenth century, by the Cathari, the Waldenses, the Wickliffeites and Hussites, all of whom made use of the Apocalypse in their arguments against the Romish Church, and believed that the papacy was Antichrist.

All parties were then unanimous in recognising the book as apostolic and prophetical. Exception began to be taken against it at the time of the Reformation, especially by Luther, who, in the preface to the first edition of his German N. T. 1522, expressly says that he considers the book neither apostolic nor prophetical, and finds no indication that it was inspired by the Holy Ghost. He regarded it almost like 2d Esdras, because it was pervaded "through and through with visions and images, and did not prophesy with clear, plain words, like Paul and Peter, and Christ Himself; because Christ is neither taught nor known in the book, and we should keep to the books wherein Christ is clearly and simply set before us." In a later preface which Luther prefixed to the Revelation in the Wittenberg edition of the N. T. 1530, he expresses himself less strongly, but it is clear that his judgment of the book was not materially altered. His opinion influenced the Lutheran theologians of the first century following the Reformation; but afterwards, and during the seventeenth century, they began again to regard the Revelation as canonical, in accordance with the view which had been held by the Roman Catholic Church, and by the Reformed Church likewise, though indeed Zwingli had rejected it. The exposition of the book in the Protestant Churches was generally directed against the papacy and the Romish Church, and thereto the descriptions of Antichrist and of the false prophet were by them applied. A few Protestant expositors only before the

eighteenth century took a different view—viz. Grotius, Hammond, Clericus. Among Catholic theologians who combated the Protestant interpretation, Bossuet (circ. 1689) is specially distinguished, who, with the last-named Protestant interpreters, referred the greater part of the book to the struggle of Judaism and heathendom against Christianity, and who, moreover, regarded Lutheranism as depicted therein. After the beginning of the eighteenth century, much attention was paid to the apocalyptic numbers; and an attempt was made to form a systematic chronology of the Apocalypse, and to discover precise dates for certain great catastrophes and epochs in the Church, as if the book were a prophetic calendar of the Church's history in its conflicts with the world; and the numbers in the Apocalypse were compared with those in the book of Daniel. The most celebrated attempt of this kind was that of J. A. Bengel,[1] who believed that by complicated reckonings and combinations he had discovered the true and exact date of Christ's second coming (after the last fury of Antichrist) to be 18th June 1836. Bengel's system, which was very polemical against the Romish Church, became very popular, and was espoused by many Protestants, especially in Würtemberg and in England, and indeed in its essential conclusions was maintained by many, until the course of events refuted it. Still from the first it met with much opposition, and in various quarters attempts were made to explain the Apocalypse more simply, and in harmony with the age to which the book belonged. Objections against its genuineness and apostolic character were revived, first in England in 1729, in the anonymous work *The N. T. in Greek and English*, etc., London 1729, and in the Lutheran Church of Germany, especially by Semler, who was followed by others. Some, on the other hand, endeavoured to controvert these objections, among whom we may particularly mention Hartwig, Herder, and Eichhorn,[2] who endeavoured to direct

[1] *Erklärte Offenb. Joh.*, Stuttg. 1740; 2d ed. 1746; 3d ed. 1758 [reprinted 1834].

[2] HARTWIG, *Apologie der Apokal. wider falschen Tadel und falsches Lob*, Chemnitz 1780–83, 4 parts; HERDER, ΜΑΡΑΝΑΘΑ, *Das Buch*

attention to the æsthetic beauties of the book, as a genuine work of the Apostle John, and thus to win back for it the esteem which it had in great part lost among the Protestant theologians of Germany, though they for the most part ignored its prophetical character. Herder (like Abauzit[1]), Hartwig, and Züllig explained the book as a prophetic picture of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the troubles and wars in Palestine preceding this catastrophe. Eichhorn regarded the whole, like Hartwig, as a drama, and explained it as a general poetic description of the triumph of Christianity over Judaism and heathenism,—Christianity being symbolized by Jerusalem, the holy city, and the other two by Babylon and Rome. The essay of mine (1820) already mentioned, was written to test the widely advocated views of Herder and Eichhorn, followed as they were by Heinrichs; and I endeavoured to prove that the design of the entire book was to inspire persecuted Christendom with faith by proving the nearness of the Lord's coming, and to describe, as connected with this, the overthrow of heathenism, and especially of Rome as its centre and seat. I endeavoured to show that the destruction of Jerusalem, to which Eichhorn referred the first part of the book, formed no real part of the prophetic picture, and that the visions of the first half of the book did not refer to events occurring at the time of the Jewish-Roman war, but were to be taken simply as general prophetic pictures of the great tribulations which were to precede the day of the Lord. De Wette and Ewald are essentially one with me in this view of the meaning and design of the Apocalypse. Lücke, on the contrary (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1829, part ii.), approached Eichhorn's view so far as to regard Judaism as well as heathenism as included in the antichristianism which in the book is vanquished by Christianity; still he does not recognise any direct reference to

von der Zukunft des Herrn, 1799; EICHHORN, *Comm. in Apocalypsin Joannis*, 2 vols., Gött. 1791.

[1] *Essay on the Apocalypse*, 1730; cf. his anonymous work, *Discourse, Historical and Critical, on the Revelation ascribed to St. John*, London 1730.

the destruction of Jerusalem. This is the view of Düsterdieck. Many other modes of interpretation have been since put forth in the Protestant Church of Germany, which, amid great diversity of character and of interpretation, agree in rejecting the idea of a poetic clothing of thought in the book, and in maintaining the whole series of visions and pictures to be an absolutely inspired prophecy of the history of the Church in its conflicts with the world. Many of these works, and especially those written when Germany was so sorely oppressed by French tyranny, down to the War of Independence, are of a popular character, without any philological or historical basis of argumentation. But this view of the prophetical character of the book has of late been advocated more scientifically, *e.g.* in the works of Hengstenberg, who holds that the thousand years have already passed away with the wane of the German kingdom, and whose moral and religious views of present events have unmistakeably influenced his interpretation. Ebrard, again, traces in the book a clear and distinct reference to the Romish Church and the papacy; and Auberlen[1] regards the thousand years as still future, but nevertheless takes many of the visions as referring to our own day from the time of the French Revolution.

§ 231.

We shall begin with the question concerning the *main import and design* of the book. This is, in my opinion, obviously to instruct the Christian reader, to confirm his faith in the time of tribulation, and to inspire him with hope by directing him to the future history of the Lord's Church onwards to its consummation, to its final triumph over all hostile powers, and to the glorious second coming of Christ. We find the hope prevailing almost universally in the early Church that the Lord will come again, and that soon, with all the glory and majesty which are His, to gather His people together into one kingdom of joy and untroubled

[1] AUBERLEN, *Der Proph. Daniel und die Offb. Joh.*, Basel 1854, 2d ed. 1857.

bliss, and make them partakers of His power and glory. This hope was based upon our Lord's own declarations, and upon the explanations given to His sayings by His disciples (cf. especially Matt. xxiv. xxv., and parallel passages); and we find it expressed or implied in most of the N. T. books, though somewhat modified in some. This same expectation we find in the Apocalypse, where it is represented as the immediate goal to which the believer is referred for the strengthening and confirmation of his faith and endurance; in the latter part of the book it is definitely described, but all that precedes has obvious reference to it.

A brief analysis of the book will make this plain. Ch. i. 1–3 is as if the title or general announcement of its contents as a divine revelation which Christ sent by His angel to His servant John. The contents are described as ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει; and at the end of ver. 3 we read, ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς, which certainly refers to the time of the fulfilment of the things prophesied, and which already we find used to denote the time of the glorious advent of the Lord, and the full and sudden inauguration of His kingdom: cf. Luke xxi. 8, Mark xiii. 33. Ch. i. 4–8, John's dedication of the book to the seven churches of proconsular Asia, which are enumerated afterwards. Here is thrown in an assertion (ver. 7) of the certainty of the Lord's coming, when He will be visible to all, ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν, καὶ ὄψεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμὸς, κ.τ.λ., corresponding with Matt. xxiv. 30. This, again, bespeaks the main tendency of the entire book. Ch. i. 9–20: here John narrates the vision of the Lord when He fully revealed Himself to him in His glory, and commanded him to write in a book what he saw, and to send it to the seven churches of Asia. Then follow, ch. ii. iii., letters to these seven churches, which the Lord by John addresses to them, or rather to their ἀγγέλους, and which refer to the condition and needs of the several churches, who are partly commended and partly blamed. All these letters conclude with the warning and promise to those who persevere in the conflict; and in that to Philadelphia the Lord says, ἔρχομαι ταχύ (iii. 11).

The scene now changes. In ch. iv. John is transported in vision into heaven, in order there to behold the future revealed to him. He sees God in His glory sitting upon the throne, surrounded by twenty-four elders, as if assessors of the divine judgment, and four cherubim, who without ceasing sing praise and glory to God. In ch. v. the seer beholds in the right hand of God a book written on both sides, sealed with *seven seals*, which at an angel's command no one seems able to open. At this the seer is troubled; but one of the elders encourages him by telling him that the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, alone is able to open the book, and to break the seven seals thereof. The seer now beholds Him in the form of a Lamb, standing in the midst of the throne, as it had been slain, with seven eyes and seven horns. This Lamb receives the book from the right hand of God; whereupon all heaven breaks forth into a song of praise to God, and to the Lamb who is worthy to take the book, and to open the seven seals thereof. All thus far seems to be introductory: there are hints already as to the real design of the whole, but these only occur incidentally: the actual prophecy, the unveiling of the future, now begins with the gradual opening of the Book sealed with the seven seals, which appears as the Book of Destiny as ordered of God, the Book of the Future as determined by Him. It is briefly intimated, ch. vi. 1–8, what the *first four seals* included, and what appeared upon the opening of them. There appeared four horses of different colours one after another: the first, a white horse bearing a conqueror, probably a symbol of the Messiah, and indicating the final result of His conflict with hostile powers; the three other horses, by their colour and by other symbols, indicate war, famine, and other deadly plagues which were to afflict the earth before the coming of the Lord. Upon the opening of the *fifth seal* (vi. 9–11) the souls of believers appear, who had suffered as martyrs for God's kingdom; and it is shown how many others, their fellow-servants, are to be slain as they were, and they are to rest a little while until judgment shall be inflicted upon the dwellers on the earth on account of the

shedding of their blood—the judgment, that is, which was to ensue upon the coming of the Lord. The opening of the *sixth seal* reveals fearful convulsions in nature, awakening terror and anguish in all men, who endeavour in vain to hide themselves from the wrath of God and of the Lamb; "for the great day of His wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?"

Before the opening of the seventh seal there intervenes (ch. vii.) a kind of interlude. The servants of God are sealed on their foreheads with the seal of God, and thus were marked and made known as those who were to escape the plagues concealed beneath the seventh seal. The *seventh seal* is then opened, ch. viii. 1 sqq., but its contents are too important and comprehensive to be seen at once: they appear partially and progressively. Seven angels successively sound the *seven trumpets* which are given them, and a portion of the contents of the seal appears each time. As to the *first four trumpets*, they bring to light only what we had on the opening of the first four seals—mighty phenomena in nature, (*a*) in the earth, (*b*) in the sea, (*c*) in rivers and springs, (*d*) in the heavenly bodies, a third part of which are darkened each time (ch. viii. 7–12). Then, as a preparation for the other trumpets, a *threefold woe* is pronounced on the earth by a heavenly voice,—a woe which is to come by reason of the *other three* voices of the *trumpets* (viii. 13), which seems to indicate that upon the sounding of the seventh trumpet the last woe, the final plagues, are to appear. The *first of these three woes* comes upon the sounding of the *fifth trumpet* (ch. ix. 1–12), and consists of a terrible swarm of locusts issuing from the bottomless pit, having power to torment the men who had not the seal of God on their foreheads for five months. Then we read, ver. 12, "One woe is past; behold, there come two woes more hereafter." Still fuller and more circumstantial is the description of the *second woe*, ix. 13–xi. 14, consisting of several sections: first, ix. 13–21, the chief plague involved in this woe, viz. an army of horsemen slaying the third part of mankind on the earth (the plagues hitherto had been torments, so that this is an enhancement involving death),

while the rest did not repent of their wickedness and idolatry. Ch. x. contains no advance in the development of the future, but only further intervening acts. The seer beholds a little book open, which he is told to eat up; so that he may prophesy concerning many kings and peoples, apparently according to the contents of the book which he is to eat. Before this an angel had sworn that when the seventh angel sounded, the mystery of God which He had announced to His servants the prophets should be finished, which has reference probably to the complete inauguration of the kingdom of God. The seer hereupon (ch. xi. 1, 2) is commanded to measure the temple of God, and the altar, and those who worship therein; but not the court without, for this is given to the heathen who were to tread the holy city under foot 42 months = $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. Hereupon follows (ch. xi. 3–13) the prophesying of the two witnesses of the Lord who were to be employed in Jerusalem as prophets working great miracles for 1260 days = $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, *i.e.* while the holy city was trodden under foot by the heathen, and who at length were slain, but after their death were to be miraculously glorified by God: they were again restored to life, and taken up into heaven. Hereupon one-tenth of the city was destroyed, and seven thousand men slain in the earthquake; "and the rest were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven."

Here let us pause for a little, and review the contents of the book we have thus far described, with reference to its import and design.

§ 232.

Mention is expressly made of Jerusalem in ch. xi., and of events in the midst of this city; and this in such a manner, that it is clear the city must still have been standing when the seer wrote. But the hope seems to be implied that it would not be destroyed. Mention is made of a punishment upon Jerusalem, but this only partially in the destruction of a portion of it, and of some of its inhabitants. When it says that the rest are alarmed and roused to give glory to God, this seems to indicate that by the judgments which

descended they would be brought to repentance, would be received by God, and would become partakers of Christ's kingdom. The first verses of the chapter seem to indicate this, where a treading down of the city for three and a half years by the heathen is mentioned, but not a total destruction. The temple of God there mentioned must mean (according to the connection) that of Jerusalem, and the worshippers there must mean the pious Jews. The measuring must be only a symbolic act, like the sealing with the seal of God, to signify that it was still under divine protection, and was secure against harm; and thus it is implied that it was ordained for the heathen to seize and occupy, for a time, the city and the outer court of the temple—where was the altar of burnt-offering, on which bloody sacrifices were to be offered—but that the temple itself, with the *θυσιαστήριον*, by which we must understand the altar of incense, incense being the symbol of the prayers of the people of God (v. 8, viii. 3, 4), together with the pious there gathered together, would remain in God's keeping, and be preserved from desolation. This form of prophetic description is obviously in keeping with the seer's individuality and his circumstances, and thus indicates a period previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, and a writer who belonged to the Jewish nation, who was actuated by special love to his fellow-countrymen, and who cherished the hope that they would the most of them be converted, and thus still form the nucleus or germ of God's people, while Jerusalem and its temple would be the universal centre for the worship of the living and true God. It cannot, accordingly, be maintained that the book, viewed as a whole, treats of the destruction of Jerusalem prophetically, or that its main object is to describe Judaism generally as a form of anti-christianism which is to be destroyed.

As to the preceding visions, ch. vi.–x., many expositors, including some who do not think that the book in the main refers to the destruction of Jerusalem, explain the plagues here foretold of those calamities which befell the Jews and their land when Jerusalem was taken, or of the time of

disquietude and war which preceded that event. But this explanation is evidently erroneous. The plagues are expressly described as coming upon the earth and its inhabitants, to torment, and partly to destroy: thus, in the second and fourth seal, ch. vi. 4, 8, and in the fifth seal, where the murderers of the believers are described as those κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (vi. 10), and those upon whom the three woes are to come (viii. 13) are named in the same manner; and this expression leads us far rather to think of the heathen nations than of the Jews. So also in the sixth seal we have the βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς expressly named (vi. 15). So, further, upon the sounding of the sixth trumpet or the second woe (ix. 18), the third part of mankind generally are to be slain; and from the vices named which those who remain unawakened by the plagues persevere in, it is clear that heathens and idolatrous nations are meant. These peoples are contrasted with the Jews, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who are brought to repentance by the punishment inflicted upon a part of their city and fellow-countrymen (ch. xi.); for they remain unconverted, and forsake not their wicked ways, in spite of all the plagues wherewith the earth is visited. While it is accordingly inadmissible to take these plagues as denoting the judgments which descended on the Jews and their country before and during the Roman-Jewish war, it is equally unallowable to attempt to prove the distinct fulfilment of any one of these visions in any particular events and circumstances of later times. Had they been meant as definite prophecies of certain events, these events must not as yet have taken place, and were now about to come; and yet, as the description in ch. xi. follows as part of one and the same series, the plagues depicted in ch. vi.–x. would have to be referred to a time when Jerusalem and the temple were still standing,—which is quite impossible. But, considering the character of the images and the plagues represented by them, it is not likely that they can have been intended (according to the import of the book generally) as definite prophecies of certain historical events, political or otherwise; but in their unity,

and taken together, as general symbolic pictures shadowing forth the manifold judgments of God which would descend upon the world on account of its sinfulness and its hostility against God's kingdom before the coming of the Lord and the final judgment to be looked for thereupon. But the circumstance that these plagues are named before the punishment which, according to ch. xi., was to come upon a portion of Jerusalem and of its inhabitants, and were therefore expected, like this, soon to take place, is only in keeping with the fact that the glorious appearing of the Lord was itself regarded by the early Christians generally as very near, and is so represented by the writer of this book.

The manner in which these visions and images are constructed and exhibited is not altogether new or peculiar to our book of the Revelation. The resemblance is unmistakeable between them and the descriptions and pictures of some of the O. T. prophets, and they are more or less akin to the ideas and representations of the later Jews concerning the Messianic reign and the tribulation and catastrophes by which this was to be ushered in.[1]

§ 233.

We shall now resume our survey of the contents of the book. In ch. xi. 14 it is announced, "The second woe is past; behold, the *third woe* cometh quickly." Then (vers. 15–18) the *seventh angel sounded*, and voices were heard in

[1] Thus the description of the appalling phenomena of nature in the sixth seal, and upon the first four soundings of the trumpets, seems to resemble and to have been borrowed from certain O. T. prophecies, where the same imagery is used in describing the day of the Lord when He would come to judge the earth, and also from the account of the Egyptian plagues. The imagery of the book of Joel, for example, and perhaps Ex. x. 12–15, evidently is reflected in Rev. ix. 1–11, only that the plagues are in the visions of our book greatly enhanced and foretold as altogether supernatural. The description, again, in ch. xi. of the two witnesses closely resembles the Jewish representation of the prophets who were to appear in the last days as witnesses for the Messiah and His kingdom. The prophecies of the book of Daniel (Dan. vii. 25, ix. 27, xii. 7, cf. viii. 13, 14) evidently form the groundwork of Rev. xi. 2; compare also Luke xxi. 24.

heaven proclaiming that now the full inauguration of the kingdom of God was come, and the time of the universal judgment. In ver. 19 we read, (*a*) that "the temple of God was opened in heaven, and the ark of the covenant was seen;" which corresponds with the representation of the later Jews, that the ark which was lost when the temple was destroyed by the Chaldeans, and which was not in the second temple, would again appear upon the ushering in of the kingdom of God. Its appearing now is therefore a sign that the time for the inauguration of this kingdom has come. We read, (*b*) that there were thunderings and lightnings and earthquakes, evidently, as the connection shows, signs of the approaching judgment which was to come upon the unbelieving world at the glorious appearing of the Lord. The reader accordingly expects that now this judgment will be represented as the second and third woe, together with the Lord's second advent. But we find this further on in the description of the last struggle of Satan and his servant Antichrist with Christ. The book here recurs to an earlier point; for in ch. xii. 1 it describes a vision given to the seer, showing how Satan had from the beginning, and at Christ's first appearing, proved himself His chafed yet furious enemy, had endeavoured to destroy Him at His incarnation; and not succeeding in this, sought to destroy His Church and followers. This is, in general, the import of the symbolic and highly poetical representation of ch. xii. 1–17. The child who is born and taken up into heaven is the Messiah, and His birth refers to His incarnation. The woman who bears Him is the Church of God, which originally consisted of the twelve tribes of Israel, of whom according to the flesh Christ sprang. Upon His birth Satan endeavours to make away with Him, and pursues Him up into heaven. Cast out of heaven into the earth, Satan endeavours to destroy the Church of God; and failing in this, he endeavours to make war upon and extirpate those who confess the Lord on earth. For this he employs two instruments, which the seer now more fully describes. They appeared to him in the vision as two beasts, the one arising out of the sea, and the other out

of the earth (ch. xiii.). The first is represented in outward form, very much as Satan himself is described, with ten horns, seven heads, and ten crowns. One of his heads is, as it were, wounded to death (vers. 3, 12) by a sword (ver. 14), and to the astonishment of the world his deadly wound was healed. Satan deputes to him his throne and power. The other beast has two horns like a lamb, and speaks like a dragon: he is expressly described in what follows as the false prophet (xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10); but he plays a subordinate part, serving the first beast, and obtaining for him worshippers. The first beast, who is called simply τὸ θηρίον, appears throughout as the very counterfeit of Christ, as Antichrist, endowed by the devil with all might to put forth the boldest exertions against Christ and His kingdom.

The representation of a living and corporeal Antichrist, which is akin to the descriptions of the book of Daniel with reference to Antiochus Epiphanes, was probably known to the Jews in the time of Christ. It was early adopted in the Christian Church with various modifications, and in connection with the time, looked forward to as near, of the glorious *parousia* of the Lord: see 2 Thess. ii. 3 sqq.; 1 John ii. 18 sqq., iv. 3. According to the description of this beast in the Apocalypse, it is evident (*a*) that it is not so much a spiritual but rather an external worldly power that is meant: this is clear from the circumstance that the false prophet is represented as another beast, who by his devices and miracles obtains adherents and worshippers for the first beast, from the ten crowns with which he is adorned, and especially from the fact that (ch. xvii. 10 sqq.) the heads and horns of this beast are expressly said to represent kings; for there can be no question that the beast in ch. xvii. 3 sqq. is the same with that in ch. xiii. 1. It is evident (*b*) that this worldly power means the Roman sway. This appears mainly from ch. xvii., as we shall presently see; and indeed ch. xiii. 18 indicates the same, for there the number of the name of the beast is given as 666. The signification of this number has been matter of great controversy. But the most probable opinion is, that the word Λατεῖνος is meant; for the letters

of this word, taken as figures, together make up this sum. This explanation was recognised even by Irenæus (v. 30); and it had probably been handed down since the writing of the book by a kind of oral tradition.

Ch. xiv. contains several visions, showing forth the purity and blessedness of the children of God, in contrast with the men of the world and the servants of Antichrist; the blessedness of those fallen asleep in the Lord, and the ripeness of the world for judgment. In ver. 8 mention is made of the fall of Babylon, which (as is clear from ch. xvii.) means Rome, as the main centre and seat of idolatry. These visions do not (save in this one verse) advance further the revelation of the future.

Ch. xv. xvi. contain a new vision of seven angels, who bring the seven last plagues upon the earth, each pouring out upon the earth a *vial* full of God's wrath. The outpouring of the first four vials is very briefly described (xvi. 2–9); and, like the first four trumpets, they affect (1) the earth, (2) the sea, (3) the rivers and springs, and (4) the sun,—not in part, like them, but fully, so that the men of the world, the worshippers of the beast (idolaters), are very severely punished, but not brought to repentance. The *fifth vial* (xvi. 10, 11) is poured forth upon the throne of the beast, and his kingdom was thus darkened; the *sixth* (vers. 12–16) upon the Euphrates, whose water is dried up, "that the way of the kings from the sunrising might be prepared" (see on xvii. 12). Hereupon the kings of the whole (idolatrous) world are summoned, by unclean spirits proceeding from Satan, Antichrist, and the false prophet, to the last decisive conflict of God's great judgment-day, the swift and sudden appearing of the Lord being announced in a parenthetic warning (ver. 15). Upon the outpouring of the *seventh and last vial* (vers. 17–21), terrible portents in nature appear; and "the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell, and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of His wrath" (ver. 19). Here the relation of "the great city divided into three parts" to "the

great Babylon" is not clear; apparently the reference of both is to Rome.

Ch. xvii. contains a further description of the beast and his heads and horns, and of the city which had hitherto been described as Babylon, because it assumed a hostile attitude against God's Church, like the old Babylon against God's people under the O. T. The seer beholds upon the beast the great Babylon as a debauched (idolatrous) woman, with whom the kings and inhabitants of the earth have committed fornication (taken part in her idolatry), vers. 1, 2, 5; she is drunk with the blood of the Christian martyrs, ver. 6; she is described as the great city *βασιλείαν ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς*, ver. 18; and sitting upon seven hills, ver. 9. This description leaves no room for doubt that this woman, Babylon the great, whose overthrow had already often been foretold (xiv. 8, xvi. 19), is Rome: the two last-named tokens are very decisive, her "reigning over the kings of the earth," and "on the seven hills." The seer sees this woman seated upon the beast with the seven heads and ten horns, which shows that this beast, Antichrist, must be in close connection with Rome. As, according to ver. 10, the seven heads of the beast typify not only the seven hills, but seven kings, we are led to think of seven rulers of Rome, *i.e.* of seven emperors. But as it further is stated that five are fallen (*οἱ πέντε ἔπεσαν*), and one is (*ὁ εἷς ἔστιν*), and the other not yet come (*ὁ ἄλλος οὔπω ἦλθεν*), the meaning can only be, that at the time when the book was written, or when the prophecy was received, the sixth of the seven kings symbolized by the seven heads was reigning, and this can refer only to the Roman emperor; and the five who are described as distinct from the sixth as *οἱ πέντε*, and as having fallen, can only mean the predecessors of the then reigning emperor, the first five Cæsars—Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero. Thus we are brought to the reign of Nero's successor as the time of the receiving, or of the writing, of the Revelation; and the only question is (it seems to me) whether this was Galba or Vespasian. It might be the latter, because Galba's government, like that of Otho

and Vitellius, was so short and partially recognised, that he might not be reckoned. It is said of the seventh of the kings that he (ὁ ἄλλος) was not yet come, and that when he came he would continue only a short time. With him would the number of seven kings, typified by the seven heads of the beast, be fulfilled. But in ver. 11 an *eighth* is mentioned. As he is over and above the seven, we should expect somewhat peculiar and distinctive about him. And we find this to be the case when we read: "The beast that was and is not; he is the eighth, and is [one] of the seven." It thus appears, first, that the character of the beast, *i.e.* Antichrist, and the idolatrous power of Rome, was to be manifested in some one of the emperors in such a manner as in him to be personified and concentred, so that he might be regarded as the living Antichrist. He is described on the one hand as still to come, as the eighth, and therefore the second successor of the then reigning emperor; and on the other hand, as already having been, in the person of one of the seven, doubtless one of the first five who had already ἔπεσαν. Now we can understand this only by bearing in mind an idea of that age, known to us from other sources. It is this. Soon after Nero's death, who himself fell by the sword, there arose a general belief that he was not really dead, but that he still lived, and dwelt among the Parthians, to whom he had fled, and among whom he was raising auxiliaries, in order to return to regain the kingdom, and to punish Rome for casting him off. We find this idea prevailing among the Christians of the time, and with it the idea of the Antichrist was blended. Nero was the first of the Roman emperors who persecuted the Christians (in Rome itself) even unto death, had tortured and slain them in the most revolting manner; and the impression produced by his cruelties remained uneffaced. This persecution, moreover, was not so exclusively confined to Rome as many suppose. Many references to it occur in the Revelation, *e.g.* xvii. 6, xviii. 20, 24. During this persecution, the Christians might naturally recognise in the author of it the actual Antichrist; and upon his death they would hope for the consummation of the kingdom of God.

When, therefore, on the one hand, no essential change took place in the outward relations of the Church to the world upon Nero's death, and on the other the popular belief was that he still lived, and was expected to return with increased power and fury, the idea might naturally take possession of the Christians, that he would once more be manifested as the living embodiment of Antichrist. We find this idea appearing in the Christian Church soon after Nero's death, and it continued a long time, even to the end of the fourth century.[1] We can hardly, therefore, be mistaken in thinking that this idea is traceable here, and that Nero is meant, as the one of the five or seven Roman emperors who was to return as the eighth, and as one with the beast, the personal Antichrist, but to be utterly overthrown. The same reference is traceable in ch. xiii. 3, 12, 14, where mention is made of one of the heads of the beast being wounded to death with a sword, yet, to the amazement of the world, being healed.

The ten horns of the beast (ch. xvii. 12 sq.) have still to be explained. They also denote kings who had not yet received their dominion, but were to receive power as kings with the beast for a short time. They are of one mind with the beast, and with him devastate the great whore (Rome), and make war upon the Lamb; but the Lamb shall overcome them. This also refers to an idea then prevalent, that Nero would return in league with many Asiatic, and especially Parthian princes, and be supported by them in his undertakings (see *Theol. Zeitschr.* as before). This idea we find in ch. xvi. 12, the pouring out of the sixth vial, whereby the water of the Euphrates is dried up, and a way prepared for the kings of the East. Here doubtless those princes are meant who were expected to come from beyond the Euphrates in league with Nero. A way is prepared for them by the drying up of the river, so that without hindrance they might come to fulfil God's will, and to do what God had ordained for them for a short space (xvii. 17).

In what follows, ch. xviii. 1–xix. 10, the fall of Rome as

[1] See my remarks, *Theol. Zeitschr.* 1820, ii. 286 sqq., note. [Also *Vorlesungen*, p. 94 sqq.]

Babylon the great, which had been announced ch. xiv. 8 (cf. xvi. 10, xvii. 16), is further described in warnings, lamentations, songs of joy, and symbolic images, for the most part resembling the language of the O. T. prophets regarding the fall of the old Babylon and other idolatrous cities, and occasionally with manifest references to these O. T. texts. Thereupon voices are heard in heaven, praising God that now the marriage of the Lamb is come, the time of His union with His Church, and of the complete inauguration of His kingdom, which thus seems to be closely connected with the fall of the antichristian Babylon; and they are pronounced blessed who are called to the marriage of the Lamb, *i.e.* all who are to partake of the blessedness of His kingdom. In ch. xix. 11–21 the seer describes his vision of the Messiah, the Word of God, appearing in His glory with the heavenly host. Against Him the beast (Antichrist) and the confederate kings of the earth assemble in vain. He conquers them all: the kings of the earth and their armies are destroyed; but the beast, together with the false prophet, are thrown alive into the burning lake of brimstone. Then, ch. xx. 1–3, Satan himself is removed, and is bound for a thousand years, thrown into the abyss, which is closed upon him and sealed, signifying that Satan during this time—the term of that Messianic reign beginning with the second coming of Christ—would be restrained, and would have no power to disturb its peace and joy. Still it is foretold that he is to be let loose again for a little season after the expiration of the thousand years, and to resume the struggle with Christ, the last struggle of all, which is to issue in his utter destruction. The thousand years' reign itself is very briefly described (ch. xx. 4–6): all the faithful who had before died, and none but these, are raised in order to take part in the blessedness and glory of this reign during the thousand years. This is described as the first resurrection, in which the unbelievers have no part. In ch. xx. 7–10 it is told how, after the lapse of the thousand years, Satan is to be let loose, and will endeavour to collect his armies from the uttermost parts of the earth, in order to attack the beloved city, the camp of

the saints; but his armies are to be destroyed by fire from heaven, and Satan himself to be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, into hell, just as Antichrist and the false prophet had been. Then follows (ch. xx. 11–15) the description of the general resurrection and the final judgment, *i.e.* of all who had no part in the thousand years' reign: all who were not written in the book of life are cast into hell, into the lake of fire; and death and hell are cast therein, so that this is called the second death. Hereupon follows the last part of the prophecy (ch. xxi. 1–xxii. 5), which describes at length the formation of a new world, a new heaven and a new earth, and of the new Jerusalem as the abode of the saints, together with the eternal blessedness which they there are for ever to enjoy. This description is very poetic, and full of imagery very much akin to, or possibly borrowed from, O. T. representations, *e.g.* the Mosaic description of paradise and of the tabernacle, and that of Ezekiel concerning the new Jerusalem (Ezek. x. 4 sqq.). What follows (ch. xxii. 6–21) forms the conclusion of the book, wherein the truth and trustworthiness of its prophecies are affirmed; and again it is stated that the time of its fulfilment is near, that its contents will quickly be realized, and that the Lord will quickly come (vers. 6, 10, 13).

§ 234.

This review of the contents of the second part of the book shows that its end and goal is the consummation of God's kingdom in perfect triumph over Satan and all its enemies, and in the everlasting blessedness of the pious and faithful. Concerning these things it informs us. This consummation is preceded by the thousand years' reign, wherein the faithful are united in undisturbed peace with the Lord, and for the enjoyment of which those who already had died are raised up; and the design of this clearly is to comfort and strengthen persecuted Christendom by a reference to this point, and by the thought of its near approach. There can be no doubt that, according to the import of the book itself, the thousand years' reign is literally meant as such, and when

the book was written it had not yet begun. It is clear also that this period is not to be reckoned from the first coming of the Lord: the reign had not yet commenced, and the prophecy had not yet been fulfilled; but, like the other prophecies of the N. T. whose accomplishment was to accompany the glorious second advent of the Lord, it was still future. It is only in keeping with this, as with the character of prophecy generally, in all declarations which refer to the future, that we cannot with certainty distinguish what is properly dogmatic from what is poetic only, at least beyond a certain point. The general idea and representation that the Lord will come again to complete His kingdom, is based beyond a doubt upon our Lord's own declarations. The universality of this thought in the minds of the early Christians witnesses to its truth; but a comparison of the N. T. writings themselves will show that the human individuality of the several disciples and teachers exerted an unmistakeable influence upon their expositions and unfoldings of this thought. As to the time of this glorious appearing of the Lord, the early Christians thought that it was near at hand; and such an expectation was necessary, in order to sustain them amid the hostility and persecution which they experienced from the world. Still the Apocalypse goes further, and aims at giving more definite information. Not only does it designate the returning Nero as the Antichrist who should wage war against Christ upon His second coming—a view which was not then for the first time broached, but which had become a popular notion and belief—but it intimates that He would appear at the end of the reigns of the seven Roman emperors, who were symbolized by the heads of the beast, and of whom the sixth (xvii. 10) was then reigning, and the seventh was to reign only a short time: He was to appear, therefore, after the death or removal of the successor of the then reigning emperor. But the coming of Christ and the inauguration of His kingdom is described as contemporaneous with the appearing of Antichrist; and thus it cannot be denied that the Apocalypse endeavours to determine the time and circumstances of the Lord's coming, and

of the full manifestation of His kingdom, and thus goes beyond the declarations of the Lord Himself, who rejected such minute inquiries, because the Father had kept this knowledge to Himself alone. The Apocalypse, therefore, can in this respect, and apart from its import in other matters, have no normative authority for us. It is quite inappropriate, and opposed to the import of the book itself—which was based upon quite a different calculation—to use it, in the manner of Bengel and others, to decide the exact time, even the year and day, of the Lord's second advent, and the catastrophes connected therewith. As to the plagues mentioned in the second part of the book (ch. xvi.), and preceding Christ's appearing, they are expressly described as the *last* (πληγὰς ἕπτα τὰς ἐσχάτας), and they are closely connected with the appearing of Antichrist and Christ's *parousia*. It is therefore quite inadmissible to apply them to events already past in the history of the Church, whether in the first century or later: in none of these would the seer himself consider his visions fulfilled. But the imagery in which these plagues are shadowed forth is of a kind that renders it very improbable (just as it is improbable in the first part, ch. vi.–x.) that they were meant of actual events occurring in this order: the greater part of them at least are only general pictures denoting the hard and perilous times for the world which are to precede the coming of the Lord and the perfecting of His saints.

As to the thousand years denoting the duration of the Messianic reign, I would simply observe that the author had probably found this term of years named somewhere else, and that he supposed his readers not altogether unacquainted with it. It perhaps was arrived at by a combination of Ps. xc. 4 ("A thousand years are in Thy sight as yesterday") with the account of the creation, for this was regarded as a type of the final destiny of the world; and as God made the world in six days, and rested the seventh day, so the world would be perfected in six days = 6000 years, but that the seventh day, *i.e.* the seventh millennium, would be a time of undisturbed rest and Messianic bliss. According to this very probable

explanation, it is quite unlikely that by the years mentioned a totally different period—either shorter or longer—is meant than that which the words themselves, taken in their ordinary sense, suggest. But, on the other hand, considering the import of the book as a whole, the number must not be strictly pressed as denoting a measured period of just 1000 solar or lunar years. The writer probably retains an expression which he found in common use, and adopts it in a general sense to denote a very long time of undisturbed rest and bliss to be enjoyed by believers in Christ upon His second coming, and before the general catastrophe and the entire renewal of the world.

§ 235.

As to the *time of writing*, there are several statements which indicate this with tolerable clearness, and to which we have already referred. In the first division (ch. xi. 1–14) not only are Jerusalem and the temple spoken of as still standing, but the hope is implied that they will not be destroyed, and that the inhabitants, after certain judgments to be inflicted on a portion of the city, will escape destruction. It is further evident, from other statements in this division, especially vi. 9–11, that the Christian Church had at the time been suffering bitter and bloody persecution from the heathen world, and that many had died as martyrs. This most probably refers us to the persecution of Nero, A.D. 64. The second division of the book is still more explicit. Rome had already persecuted the Christians unto death; cf. xvii. 6, xviii. 24, and xviii. 20, where the saints, the apostles, and prophets are addressed as already in heaven, and their blood is said to be avenged by the overthrow of Babylon. This implies that some apostles had already suffered death through Rome, or that they had been persecuted by her, and had since died. We are thus again led to think of the Neronic persecution, and in xvii. 10 (as we have seen) to the time following the death or disappearance of Nero; and thus putting the data of both divisions of the book together, we arrive at the interval between A.D. 68 and 70. The more exact fixing of the

date depends upon the successor of Nero, whom we regard as the sixth Roman emperor in whose time the book was written, whether we take him to be Galba or Vespasian. Most modern expositors think it was Galba,[1] and this seems at first sight the simplest: thus we should have to think of the last months of Galba's reign, for probably some time had elapsed since Nero's death. In my opinion, the early part of Vespasian's reign, as it brings us still later, is the more probable date.[2] In the *Theol. Zeitschr.* (1820) I endeavoured to prove that the second division of the book (ch. xii. sqq.) was written some time after the first, but by the same author; the first division before the destruction of Jerusalem, and during Nero's reign; and the second division after that catastrophe, and in Vespasian's reign. But I do not now find sufficient justification for this view (cf. my *Beitr. z. Ev. Krit.* p. 81): it seems from ch. xx. 9 (*i.e.* in the second portion of the book), where the author (as compared with xxi. 10 sq.) has very probably in his thoughts the earthly Jerusalem as still standing, that the same hope is implied which we find in ch. xi., *i.e.* that Jerusalem would still be spared to the *parousia* of the Lord, and would be the local centre of the kingdom of God.

§ 236.

The *writer.*—If the view here developed as to the date of writing be correct, that opinion must be set aside which regards the Revelation as a work forged in the name of the Apostle John. For when the book was written, *i.e.* before the destruction of Jerusalem, the Apostle John was still living, as all the early testimonies witness, and his Gospel was in all probability written later than this. Supposing that he was already residing in the district to which the book of the Revelation is primarily addressed, and in the neighbourhood of which it was written, *i.e.* in proconsular Asia, or

[1] So Ewald, Lücke (ed. 1), De Wette, Credner, [Volkmar].

[2] Lücke decidedly inclines to this opinion in his 2d ed.; and E. Böhmer, *Ueber d. Verfassung u. die Abfassungszeit der Joh. Apok. u. zur bibl. Typik*, Halle 1855 [and Düsterdieck, p. 52 sqq., ed. 2].

even that he subsequently came thither, no one would have ventured, or indeed have thought of, writing such a work in the apostle's name. If any one had done so, the apostle and his friends would at once have repudiated it, and it could never have attained the high esteem which the Apocalypse won at a very early date in the Church at large.

We have only to choose, therefore, between the two remaining views, (*a*) that the book is really the work of the Apostle John, and (*b*) that it was written by another John. Convinced as we are of the genuineness of the Gospel and the epistles of St. John, the first of these views would attribute the Apocalypse to the same author as the Gospel. It must certainly be granted that the Apocalypse presents many points of similarity with the other Johannine writings in style, language, and thought. This similarity, however, appears more or less in particular points only; for the general character of the book presents a striking contrast with St. John's other writings,—a contrast which can hardly be explained on the supposition that it came from the same writer.

(*a*.) The language of the Apocalypse is beyond comparison rougher, blunter, more disconnected, and presents greater inaccuracies, than any other book of the N. T.; whereas the language of the Gospel is not indeed pure Greek, but is far more correct. Dionysius Alex. (in Euseb. vii. 27) rightly pointed out this difference. It can hardly be explained by the difference in the time of writing. For though the Gospel was probably written after the destruction of Jerusalem, and therefore later than the Apocalypse, still the Apostle John must have been at least sixty years of age when the Apocalypse was written, and it is hardly likely that the style of his Greek could have so materially changed as this view obliges us to suppose. Lücke (ed. 2, p. 664) rightly observes that the language of the Apocalypse has no indications of the bungling or mistakes of a novice in Greek, but has a type of its own, constant, habitual, and designed, which hardly admits of affinity with, or growth into, the type of language which the Gospel and epistles present.

Dionysius mentions many peculiarities traceable throughout both the Gospel and the Epistles, but quite wanting in the Revelation.[1]

(*b.*) We find a greater and still more essential difference if we compare the contents, the spirit, and character of these writings. The writer of the Apocalypse is, like the evangelist, a Jew by birth, who knew the Scriptures of the O. T. in the original, and who, like the evangelist, quotes not from the LXX., but directly from the Hebrew text itself. But the position he holds in relation to the Jewish people seems to be quite different from that of the evangelist; for he evidently clings to the hope that the capital of his country, Jerusalem and its temple, may still continue to be the great centre for God's people and His worship, and he describes the unbelieving Jews who oppose the truth as not really Jews (ii. 9, iii. 9). The evangelist, on the contrary, often uses simply *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* to denote those who oppose the truth, especially the heads of the people (see § 80, 113). Now we can hardly think that the apostle, if when about 60 years of age he entertained such high ideas of Judaism as the writer of the Apocalypse does, could have spoken as he does when he wrote his Gospel. Further, in the Apocalypse the great goal looked forward to, the central hope round which all gathers, is the expectation of the speedy second advent of the Lord as a conqueror over the powers of evil, and the inauguration of God's kingdom upon earth. We find a similar expectation in other N. T. writings, and it was not foreign to the mind of the Apostle John; cf. 1 John ii. 28, iii. 2. But in the Gospel, apart from the appendix (John xxi. 22), there are no express declarations upon the subject; and this is certainly not unimportant. If the apostle entertained this hope so clearly and earnestly as it appears in the Apocalypse forty years after the ascension, we should expect that he would still have cherished it later in life, and would have referred to it in his historical account of Christ's life.

[1] For other differences in language, see EWALD (*Comment. in Apocal.* pp. 66–74); DE WETTE, § 189, *b*; LÜCKE, ed. 2, pp. 670–680; CREDNER, § 266.

Of the Antichrist, the precursor of the last day (the ἐσχάτη ὥρα), mention is indeed made in 1 John ii. 18: "Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now are there many Antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time." Also 1 John iv. 3: "This is that Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world." But these are simply references to a belief widely entertained, to which the apostle gives a more general application than that given to it in the Revelation. He warns his readers expressly not to expect a future person as Antichrist, for there were already many Antichrists in the world. He says that every one is to be regarded as Antichrist who denies that Jesus is the Christ. Thus there seems to be in his language a tacit argument against such views of Antichrist as we find in the Apocalypse. Lastly, the writer of the Apocalypse seems to have had a kind of rabbinical and cabalistic culture, and a taste for cabalistic studies, which we do not find in the evangelist.

We are thus led, with Dionysius Alex. and others, to conclude that the writer must have been another John, most probably the Presbyter John,[1] whom Papias (in Euseb. iii. 39) names with a certain Aristion, both of whom belonged not to the inner circle of the apostles, but to the disciples of the Lord (*μαθηταὶ τοῦ Κυρίου*), and of whom it may with great probability be assumed that they lived and laboured in the district where Papias lived, *i.e.* in Asia Minor, where Papias was bishop of Hierapolis near Laodicea, one of the seven Churches named in the Apocalypse. Eusebius himself inclines to attribute the book to this Presbyter John, and he remarks, as Dionysius Alex. also does, that two graves were shown in Ephesus which were both said to be the grave of a John. Under these circumstances, if the second John laboured as presbyter in the same district as the evangelist, there might easily arise a confusion between the two preachers

[1] HITZIG, on the contrary (*Ueber Joh. Marcus u. seine Schriften*, Zurich 1843), thinks that the writer was the Evangelist John Mark. See LÜCKE, ed. 2, p. 778 sqq.

of the faith, so that a work of the presbyter's might be attributed to the better known and more distinguished apostle and evangelist; just as was really the case with the Revelation, which was certainly attributed very early to the apostle even by Justin Martyr.

§ 237.

It has been supposed that the writer of the Apocalypse endeavours to make it appear that he is the Apostle and Evangelist John; and in this case our opinion concerning him must certainly be false. But is that supposition supported by any evidence? In ch. i. 1 the writer describes himself simply as John, a servant of Jesus Christ; and while this title is not incompatible with his being an apostle, it is equally applicable to a disciple of the Lord's not belonging to the circle of the apostles. Ver. 2 also would be appropriate to such a disciple if it did indeed refer to the labours of the writer in the Gospel, but its reference is probably to the testimony given in the Apocalypse itself. Ch. i. 9 seems to coincide with an old tradition concerning the Apostle John, that he was banished by the Roman Emperor to Patmos on account of his testimony (see § 58). But when we come closely to examine the statements of early writers upon this point, we find that they really know nothing certain or definite concerning this banishment: their statements are vacillating and contradictory, and in some cases certainly mistaken. The earliest writers, for example, who mention it down to the fourth century, place the banishment, all of them, in the reign of Domitian, but the Revelation was certainly written before this emperor; so that if Rev. i. 9 refers to a banishment of the writer and Apostle John, this could not have been in Domitian's reign. It is much more probable that the entire tradition of the apostle's banishment to Patmos rests upon this one passage in the Apocalypse, which as it runs might naturally give rise to the belief that the seer John had been banished to this island on account of his testimony; and it was natural, when once this John was mistaken for the apostle, that this circumstance should be

traditionally told of him, though it originally referred to another witness for the truth bearing the same name. But viewed by itself, the text does not necessarily convey the idea of a banishment to the island. It would certainly appear from the ἐγενόμην, that when the visions were committed to writing he was no longer there. But what seems most to tell against the apostle as the writer is ch. xxi. 14. Judging from this passage, it is much more probable that the writer was not himself one of the twelve apostles. He evidently attaches special importance to the rank and dignity of the twelve apostles, and we should therefore have expected that in ch. i. 1 he would have expressly called himself an apostle had he been one. On the other hand, it certainly is not likely that the writer would have called himself simply a "servant of Jesus Christ," if there were more Johns than one in the same neighbourhood to whom this title was applicable. Our view, therefore, is not without difficulty, if the evangelist was then living in Asia Minor, and in the district where the book was written. But as we have already remarked (§ 57), the evangelist's coming into this district probably took place after the Apocalypse was written. The presbyter would thus be the only Christian teacher in the district bearing the name of John, and the Churches of proconsular Asia would not need a more explicit title to prevent their confounding him with the apostle.

PART II.

HISTORY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON.

§ 238.

THE books which we have hitherto been considering one by one, form together a collection which now for many centuries has been looked upon more or less as closed,—a sum-total of those works of Christian literature which are esteemed in the Church as writings of special rank and value, and of canonical dignity. We are wont accordingly to call them the canonical writings of the N. T., and to designate the collection the CANON of the N. T.[1] The word *κανών*, corresponding with *κάννα*, *κάννη*, as this does with the Hebrew קָנֶה, means literally a *cane* or reed, then a

[1] For the conception of the (Scripture) Canon, and the use of the word in the early Church, see * HEINRICH PLANCK, *Göttinger Osterprogr.* 1820, reprinted in the *Commentat. theol.* of Rosenmüller, Fuldner, and Maurer, i. 212 sqq.; CREDNER, *Zur Gesch. d. Kanons*, 1–68. On the history of the N. T. Canon, see LARDNER (*ob.* 1768), *Credibility*, vol. iii.; MÜNSCHER (*ob.* 1814), *Handbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, vols. i. and iii.; DE WETTE, *Einleitung in d. Alte Test.* § 18–29; GUERICKE, ed. 2, pp. 558–621; KIRCHHOFER; THIERSCH, *Versuch*, etc., 305–443, where but little historical material is to be found, but theoretical reasoning only, and in some respects very unhistorical; REUSS, *Gesch. des N. T.* § 281–350 [and *Histoire du Canon des S. Ecritures dans l'église chrétienne*, reprinted from the *Nouvelle Révue de Théologie* 1860, Strasburg 1863]; CREDNER, *Theol. Jahrbb.* 1857, parts iii. iv. [By the same, *Gesch. d. N. T. Kanons*, edited by VOLKMAR, Berlin 1860. HILGENFELD, *Der Kanon u. die Kritik des N. T. in ihrer geschichtl. Ausbildung u. Gestaltung, nebst Herstellung u. Beleuchtung des Muratori'schen Bruchstücks*, Halle 1863.]

graduated staff, and then is used among other things to denote a measuring rule, and thus generally *a rule* or *standard* of any kind—whatever is a sample of its sort—whatever serves as an estimate for judging other things like it, in order to determine their measure, rank, or nature. From it comes the word *κανονίζειν*, to regulate or judge anything conformable to a certain norm or rule; and *κανονικός*, to denote either what is conformable to the rule or standard, or what itself furnishes the standard. In the Christian Church, accordingly, we give the name "canonical books" to those writings which, before others and to the exclusion of others, serve as a standard to determine and define Christian faith and Christian life; and the sum total of these writings we call the Christian Canon. We find the word *κανών* similarly used by the Alexandrian grammarians to denote those works of Greek literature strictly called *classical, i.e.* those of the older Greek authors which may be regarded as standards of pure Greek (Quinctilian, *Inst. rhetor.* x. 1. 54, 59). Still the word *κανών* was not used in the Church in this sense, to denote a defined collection of writings of canonical rank, until much later, probably not before the end of the fourth century, and first in the Latin Church (Jerome, *Prolog. galeat. in librum regum*). We find the expressions *κανὼν τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, *κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός* or *τῆς πίστεως*, used earlier in the Church to denote the rule of faith, *regula fidei*, the symbol and summary of the essentials of Christian and Church doctrine. In connection with this type or symbol of Church doctrine was the idea of certain writings forming the source or basis of it—writings with normative authority; and these writings would be called *κανονιζόμενα* (so first in Athanasius, *Epist. festalis*), and *κενανονισμένα* and *κανονικά* (so *Conc. Laodic. can.* 59), or *Scripturæ canonicæ* in Origen, in the translation of Rufinus.[1] The same writings are also called *ἐνδιάθηκα* (in Origen, *Philocalia*, c. 3, and Euseb. iii. 3), testamentary scriptures, and *ἐνδιάθετα* (Euseb. *Chron.*,

[1] Others explain the word *κανών* as meaning a *list:* so BAUR in the *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1858, part i.; cf. HOLTZMANN, *Kanon u. Tradition*, p. 100.

Basil, Epiphanius, and others). The writings of this kind thus esteemed in the Church were partly ante-Christian (the books of O. T.) and partly Christian (the books of the New Testament): these latter constitute the New Testament Canon, and with the history of this Canon we have now to do. We have to consider when and wherefore just those writings which our N. T. contains came to be thus especially esteemed in the Church, and to the exclusion of all others ranked together as the authentic sources for our knowledge of Christian doctrine, and the standard wherewith to determine Christian faith, and to regulate Christian life. We have also to consider what changes this collection has undergone, both in its compass and in the esteem in which it has been held from its first formation down to its close or completion, and from its close down to the present time.

§ 239.

We have here specially to consider the relation in which these writings stood to others of a similar kind belonging to the first centuries, which either through their pretended origin lay claim to be ranked with the canonical books, or which were regarded with the same, or almost the same, reverence here and there in the Church. The doctors of the Church divide this class of writings into two kinds.

(*a.*) Those whose doctrinal and other contents were found to be in unison with the canonical books, but which could not be ranked exactly on a par with these, either because they had been written by men who were not apostles, or who did not stand on a par with the writers of the canonical books, such as the apostolic Fathers, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Hermas, or because there was an uncertainty as to their real origin and genuineness, as *e.g.* in the case of the Gospel *κατὰ Ἑβραίους*, and as was the case within the Church itself in some places with several of our N. T. books, viz. the General Epistles, excepting 1st John and 1st Peter, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, which were accordingly ranked by some side by side with the apostolic Fathers, and the like. Writings thus regarded, and so far as

they were thus regarded, were considered not inappropriate for edification and Christian instruction, but were not held in the same esteem as the canonical books, nor recognised as authorities for the foundation and establishment of doctrinal belief. Books of this kind are called in Eusebius *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, as distinguished from those undoubtedly canonical, the *ὁμολογούμενα*; in Athanasius, *Ep. festalis*, they are called *βιβλία ἀναγινωσκόμενα*, as distinguished from the *κανονιζόμενα*; in Rufinus, *Exposit. symb. apost.*—*libri ecclesiastici* as distinct from the *Canonicis*.

(*b*.) Those which, while pretending for the most part to be of apostolic origin, did not harmonize in their contents with the recognised canonical books, which were regarded historically fabulous and doctrinally heretical. Eusebius describes the works thus put in circulation by heretics in the name of the apostles, in contrast with the Antilegomena, as utterly ill-flavoured (*ἄτοπα*) and godless; and Athanasius and Rufinus describe them—in clear distinction from the books of the second class—as *ἀπόκρυφα*, *Scripturas apocryphas*. This designation often occurs in the works of ecclesiastical writers, but not always in the same sense: cf. Gieseler, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1829, pp. 141–146; Bleek, *ibid.* 1853, p. 267; and *Einl. i. A. T.* § 300. The word literally signifies that which is hidden. Originally it was not used in a bad sense, nor in contrast with "canonical," but in contrast with "that which is revealed"—of books considered secret or mysterious. It seems to have been frequently used among the Gnostics of Parthia, of books which they thought had come to them mysteriously. In the orthodox Church these works were suspected, not without reason, to be forgeries; and hence the idea of apocryphal was blended with that of heretical and spurious. This we find in such early Church writers as Athanasius and Rufinus. The application of the word was further extended and was wont to be applied (cf. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, xv. 23) to such writings as were not regarded canonical, on account of the uncertainty attaching to their origin, or to their not having a like origin with the recognised canonical books, but which were looked upon by the Church as next in rank

and value to them. Thus, *e.g.*, Jerome [see Bleek, *Einl. i. A. T.* § 311] in the *Prolog. galeat.* contrasts the apocryphal books simply with the canonical, including among them those which were regarded as useful for edification, though not equal in rank with the canonical, and as he says in *Præf. in libros Salom.*, not to be used *ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam;* in the *De vir. illust.*, *e.g.*, c. vi., he describes the Epistle of Barnabas, which he regards as genuine, among the *scripturis apocryphis.* In this wider and milder sense we in the Protestant Church use the work Apocrypha in the O. T. The word was also used thus by the early Lutheran Church of certain books in relation to the N. T., whose origin was not considered certain, and which were ranked below the rest. Since then it has become usual for us, in the use of the word in relation to the N. T., to couple with it the idea of forgery with an heretical design.

§ 240.

The writings of the N. T. were almost all of them called forth by certain special relations, and written partly for certain individuals, and partly for a particular circle of readers, narrower or wider as the case might be at the time, and specially suited to their needs and wishes. Still the subject-matter of these writings, and the esteem in which the writers were held as Christian teachers, caused them to be circulated much more widely than in the circles for which they were primarily intended. We have many clear traces and proofs of this. The manner, for instance, in which Mark used the other Gospels, especially Matthew and Luke, in the composition of his Gospel, shows that, when he wrote, these two Gospels were already well known in the Church, and were held in high estimation. St. Paul, again, himself tells the Colossians (Col. iv. 16) to send his letter to the Laodiceans, and that they should read the epistle he had sent to Laodicea; and this would probably give rise to a still wider circulation. We have evidence not only in the Epistle to the Hebrews, but also in the Epistle of St. James and in 1st Peter (cf.

§ 196, 206, 215), that even in the apostolic age St. Paul's epistles were circulated and read far beyond the range of readers primarily addressed. The epistles of other apostles likewise, and Christian teachers of the apostolic age, were, soon after their appearance, widely circulated in the Church, and would be read and reverenced according to their contents and the authority recognised as belonging to the writer. Thus we find them used in the writings of the apostolic Fathers at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century; *e.g.* 1st Corinthians, Philippians, Ephesians, 1st Peter, 1st John (see § 148, 159, note, 168, 215, 89). Still these epistles were not as yet united in one collection, possessing, like the writings of the O. T., distinctive canonical rank as Holy Scripture. The first indication of this occurs in 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16, where the Pauline Epistles are not only described as the subjects of various and perverted interpretations, but as standing in the same series with other books, probably those of the O. T., which were called *αἱ γραφαὶ κατ' ἐξ.* Still this reference serves to confirm the opinion that 2d Peter belongs to a time subsequent to the apostolic age strictly so called; for we find no such expressions concerning the Pauline and other apostolic epistles in the writings of the apostolic Fathers.[1]

The same is true also with reference to the evangelic writings. We have seen (§ 99 sqq.) that other longer or shorter evangelic histories preceded the composition of our Gospels—not a few, according to the statement of St. Luke's preface; and these, according to their contents, would be more or less widely used. They seem, however, soon to have been lost, and to have fallen into disuse when our present Gospels appeared; and this is a proof that our Gospels were very soon recognised in the Church as more complete, correct, and trustworthy. We cannot doubt that in the last decade of the first and the first decade of the second century our Gospels were in common use in the Church; and we find unmistakeable traces of this, if not direct quotations, in the

[1] Cf., however, the passage from POLYCARP, *ad Phil.* xii. (in the Latin version), quoted § 168, note.

apostolic Fathers. But they would not, on the other hand, be used exclusively as sources of information, but side by side with oral tradition, and with other evangelic writings. In Acts xx. 35, a saying of the Lord's is cited, not preserved in our Gospels; and in the apostolic Fathers we find several sayings of Christ's which we do not meet with in our Gospels, or which, if occurring there, are yet so different as evidently to have been derived from a different source, perhaps from another evangelic treatise.[1] The example of Papias shows us how, even in the second century, oral tradition was regarded as a by no means insignificant or unimportant source of information concerning the life and sayings of the Lord and of His first disciples: for he used these sources very distinctly for his five books, λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις. But when Gospel histories were used, special authority was assigned to them only so far as and because they trustworthily recorded the life and discourses of the Lord; and they are quoted as "Scripture" κατ' ἐξ. only seldom, and hardly ever in the genuine writings of the apostolic Fathers.[2] Such an expression as "the Scripture saith," or "it is written," and not only "the Lord saith," implies that a certain number of evangelic writings now formed a definite collection; and these we do not meet with during the first century.

§ 241.

But there cannot be any doubt that our four Gospels were even then rising in the esteem and reverence of the Church

[1] *e.g.* Ep. Barnab. vii.: Οὕτω, φησὶν (Ἰησοῦς), *οἱ θέλοντές με ἰδεῖν καὶ ἅψασθαί μου τῆς βασιλείας, ὀφείλουσιν θλιβέντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.* The thought here reminds us of Matt. xvi. 24 and parallel passages, but still it differs too much to be a quotation. *Ib.* c. iv.: *sicut dicit filius Dei: resistamus omni iniquitati et odio habeamus eam.*

[2] *e.g.* Barnab. Ep. iv. [where the Greek text in the Codex Sinait. (see Hilgenfeld, *Der Kanon u. die Kritik des N. T.* p. 10) runs: Προσέχωμεν μή ποτε ὡς γέγραπται· Πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί, εὑρηθῶμεν (Matt. xx. 16, xxii. 14)]. *Pseudo*-Clemens Rom. Ep. ii. 2: ἑτέρα γραφὴ λέγει (Matt. ix. 13, and parall.). In the N. T. itself we find a somewhat similar quotation only in 1 Tim. v. 18 (Luke x. 7; see above, § 186), but this rather tells against the Pauline authorship of 1st Timothy.

at large far beyond any other evangelic histories; and this was still more the case in the first half of the second century. We may be certain [though Hilgenfeld, p. 22, note, emphatically denies it] that Marcion found our Gospels already holding a high place in the esteem of the Church, and before he developed his own system he had himself received them as authorities (see § 53, 55). We also know that the Valentinians in common with the orthodox Church received them; and this can be explained only by the supposition that Valentinus himself, when he appeared, found them already thus esteemed (cf. § 86). There can be no doubt that Justin Martyr, by the *Memoirs* which he attributes to the apostles, and which he designates by their proper name *εὐαγγέλια*, means chiefly our four Gospels, two of which he made use of, viz. Matthew and Luke. Still we find in him citations from the Gospel history for which he must have had recourse to another evangelic treatise, probably the Gospel of the Hebrews, then an Aramaic and Judaizing revision of our Matthew.[1] Hegesippus made use of the same work, according to Euseb. iv. 22.[2] Still our four Gospels began about this time, soon after the middle of the second century, to be the exclusive sources to which reference was made in the Church at large for the facts of Gospel history; and all others began to be rejected as of minor value, because perhaps of the use which was made of some of these by various heretical parties. The clearest proofs that our four Gospels were regarded as exclusive authorities for Gospel history are the harmonies of Tatian (A.D. circ. 170) and Theophilus: see § 88, 119. It is not improbable that the so-called *Evangelium veritatis*, which, according to Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 11), the Valentinians received together with our Gospels, was a

[1] See § 119. Ewald is hardly right (*Jahrb. d. bibl. Wiss.* vi. 60) when he thinks that, under that designation of evangelic writings spoken of in Justin as composed by the apostles and their companions, a great many other such writings were meant by Justin to be included.

[2] [Ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραΐδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἑαυτὸν πεπιστευκέναι.]

harmony of these made by these Gnostics themselves. The passage already quoted (§ 74, note) from Apollinaris in the *Chron. pasch.* is of importance, implying as it does the canonical authority of Matthew (or of the Synoptics generally) and St. John's Gospel in the Church (see above, § 86, note). The other and smaller sects who differed from the Church at large in the view they took of the Gospel histories, may be named—(*a*) the Marcionites (§ 51 sq.); (*b*) the Jewish Christians in Palestine, who received only the Gospel *καθ' Ἑβραίους* (see § 41 sqq.), and who dealt with it in course of time in a very arbitrary manner; (*c*) the so-called *Alogi* in Asia Minor (see § 62, 85).

As to the apostolic writings, down to the middle of the second century we find no clear trace of the use of the epistles of the apostles and of other Christian teachers being united together or with the Gospels in one collection, still less in one collection considered defined or closed. The Pauline Epistles, indeed, seem to have been collected early, at latest perhaps in the beginning of the second century—as many of them as had till then been preserved. In proof of this we have, besides 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16, the fact that Marcion received a collection of Pauline Epistles into his Canon, viz. ten of them—all except the three Pastoral Epistles (cf. § 54). It is not likely that he could have been the first thus to collect them: the probability is, that he found them already collected in the Church, and made a selection and arrangement of them in his own manner. That a distinctly canonical authority was granted to these Pauline Epistles in the second half of the second century, is very clearly evident from Theophilus, *ad Autolyc.* iii. 14 (p. 126 C, Paris), where 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, Tit. iii. 1 (see § 173, note), Rom. xiii. 7, are quoted with the formula, *ὁ θεῖος λόγος κελεύει*, or *διδάσκει*. In like manner, these epistles and other apostolic writings would be regarded by the orthodox church doctors, and even by many heretical sects, *e.g.* by the Valentinians, as exponents of the divine word. The Marcionites recognised only one Gospel and ten Pauline Epistles as thus canonical: they received neither the Acts, nor the General Epistles, nor

the Revelation. This last-named book seems to have been regarded by the Church at large in the middle of the second century, and afterwards, as an apostolic and prophetic work: this the testimony of Justin Martyr (see § 229) and others shows. But the Ebionites rejected the Pauline Epistles *in toto*, and our book of the Acts: they had subsequently an Acts of the Apostles of their own, in which St. James was made to play the chief part, and which contained much that was hostile to St. Paul (Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxx. 16).

§ 242.

In the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, the chief witnesses as to the state of the N. T. Canon are: (*a.*) Irenæus, bishop of Lugdunum in Gaul, but by birth probably a Greek of Asia Minor, with reference to Gaul, and perhaps Asia Minor. (*b.*) For the Alexandrine Church, Clement of Alexandria. (*c.*) For proconsular Africa, Tertullian. These three do not furnish lists of the books: their evidence consists of the use they make in their works of the N. T. books. (*d.*) For the Syrian Church, the old Syriac translation of the N. T., the Peshito, which beyond a doubt belongs to this date. (*e.*) For the Roman Church, an old Latin list of the canonical books of the N. T., which Muratori found in an old manuscript of the Milan Library (belonging to the eighth or ninth century), and printed in his **Antiquitates Italicæ medii ævi*, tom. iii., Milan 1740, pp. 854 sqq. Since then it has frequently been reprinted.[1] From its contents it professes to have been

[1] By GUERICKE (ed. 2, p. 589, note) and CREDNER, *Gesch. des Kanons*, ii. 69–94; and (after a renewed examination of the MS. by his brother, FRIEDR. WIESELER) by K. WIESELER, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1847, pp. 815–857 (*der Kanon des N. T. von Murat. von neuem vergl. u. im Zusammenhange erläutert*): cf. the supplement to this, *ibid.* 1856, pp. 75–110. VAN GILSE, *Disputatio de antiquissimo librorum sacrorum N. Fœd. Catalogo qui vulgo fragmentum Muratorii appellatur*, Amst. 1852. BUNSEN, *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. v., London 1854 (also entitled *Analecta ante-Nicæna*, vol. i.), pp. 137–155, where he gives a new comparison of the MS. by M. HERTZ, with notes of his own. BUNSEN supposes that the Fragment belonged to the Church History of Hegesippus (cf. Bunsen's

written by a teacher of the Roman Church, after Marcion, Valentinus, and the Roman bishop Pius (*ob.* 157), but not long after the death of the last—at latest towards the end of the second century.[1] The text of the MS. is very much corrupted and decayed, and the meaning difficult to make out; indeed, it is only by critical conjectures that it can be deciphered, and these conjectures are not unanimous, and are very uncertain. Hug supposed it to be a bad translation from a Greek original,[2] but this is hardly probable (see Wieseler, pp. 831–833). There is a lacuna in the text in the very beginning. Still it is evident that, of evangelic histories, the author mentions simply our four canonical Gospels, without saying anything of any other.[3] From the other testimonies referred to, we find that at this time, and in various parts of Christendom, these four Gospels, and they alone, were recognised as authentic sources for the Lord's life. Tertullian always refers to these four Gospels only as

Hippolytus, i. 360). [HILGENFELD (as above, p. 39) gives the text of HERTZ. CREDNER, *Gesch. d. N. T. Kanon*, pp. 141–170 (after WIESELER'S collation); VOLKMAR, in the appendix thereto, pp. 341–363: cf. CREDNER, *Theol. Jahrbb.* 1857, p. 208 sqq. CREDNER, and in great part VOLKMAR, in this last-named treatise, deny that the fragmentary character of the document arose from the imperfect nature of the MS.; they think that the corruptions are to be attributed in great part to the peculiarities of the *lingua volgata* of Africa, and to the orthography of the copyist.]

[1] See my *Einl. z. Hebr. Br.* p. 121, note, and WIESELER as before. [The opinion that it was compiled by the presbyter CAIUS (MURATORI, VOLKMAR) does not harmonize with the judgment of CAIUS concerning the Apocalypse.]

[2] GUERICKE inclines to this opinion; THIERSCH (p. 385) considers it certain. [BUNSEN, PAUL BÖTTICHER (*Zeitschr. für die gesammte Luth. Theologie u. Kirche*, 1854, p. 127 sq.), NOLTE (**Ueber das sog. Muratori'sche Fragment kanonischer BB.*, in the *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.* 1860, p. 193 sqq.), HILGENFELD, as before, endeavour to re-translate it into Greek.]

[3] [Besides our four Gospels, the Fragment names the following books as received: the Acts by St. Luke, thirteen Pauline Epistles, the Epistle of Jude, two Epistles of St. John, the Apocalypse of St. John (and the Apocalypse of Peter?). It omits, of our present canonical Scriptures, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of James, 2d and 1st Peter (but see below), and one Epistle of St. John, viz. the third.]

handed down by the Church; and Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* iii. (p. 465, Sylburg), with reference to a saying of Christ's quoted by the Encratites, urges that it does not occur in the four traditional Gospels.[1] Still he cites the Gospel of the Hebrews without expressly rejecting it, ii. p. 380 (see above, § 45); cf. v. p. 578: *Οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν, φησί, παρήγγειλεν ὁ κύριος ἔν τινι εὐαγγελίῳ· Μυστήριον ἐμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου.* But the statement of Irenæus, *Hær.* iii. 11. 8 (see above, § 85, note), shows how settled the decision of the Church was. We may conclude from what he says, that the exclusive authority of the four Gospels was, when he wrote, already established, as data from the middle of the second century and afterwards testify. At the end of the second century, as we have already seen, a Gospel of Peter was in use in the Church at Rhossus in Cilicia, but Bishop Serapion soon felt himself obliged to have it set aside (see § 120).

We cannot exactly say when or how it came to pass that the Church considered the collection of canonical Gospels closed with these four alone. The conclusion seems to have been formed and established gradually, without any express conferences or decisions of councils, and without the judgment and practice of any one Church being regarded as authoritative and regulative for the rest. On this account we have all the more reason to recognise the hand of Providence in the matter, and to believe that the Church was led to a right decision, there having been no other Gospels extant in the end of the second century of similar worth or in similar esteem as our four. We are confirmed in this by a comparison of the other Gospel histories which have come down to us with the four canonical Gospels. Though they present affinities especially with our Synoptics, there is more

[1] [*Διὰ τοῦτο τοι ὁ Κασσιανός φησί, πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλώμης, πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὧν ἤρετο, ἔφη ὁ κύριος· "Οταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσετε, καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἓν καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ."* Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέτταρσιν εὐαγγελίοις οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ῥητόν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους.]

or less of what is strange and foreign, and they evidently fail to give us the Gospel history so faithfully and ungarbled as our four. The collection of Gospel writings has ever since been regarded by the Church at large as closed; and no one has thought of claiming for any other evangelic treatise a like canonical rank.

§ 243.

But the Christian Canon seems to have been less determinately settled at this time with reference to the other books. Still the Church was unanimous in regarding a number of other writings besides the four Gospels as equally canonical and normative as these,—writings which give an authentic account of the labours of the apostles after Christ's ascension, and in which the apostles themselves appeared as teachers. These books were called τὰ ἀποστολικά (Irenæus, i. 3. 6, as distinct from τὰ εὐαγγελικά), or οἱ ἀπόστολοι (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* v. p. 561, vi. p. 659). The four Gospels collectively were often called τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, *evangelium* (so Clement of Alex. often; Irenæus, iii. 11; and Tertullian frequently). It has often been stated, as still by Reuss, § 300, that the other books were called ὁ ἀπόστολος, in the singular; but I doubt whether this is anywhere the case. In the places where ὁ ἀπόστολος occurs in distinction from the Gospels, some one apostle is meant, generally St. Paul: thus *e.g.* Clement of Alex., *Strom.* vii. p. 706; Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, c. xv. Still writings of this kind collectively are called by Tertullian (*de pudic.* xii.) *Apostolicum Instrumentum;* and these, with the "*Evangelium*" (*ib.*), he calls *Novissimum Instrumentum*, or (*adv. Praxeam*, c. xv.) *Novum Testamentum.* (Cf. *adv. Marc.* iv. 1: *alterius Instrumenti vel, quod magis usui est dicere, Testamenti. Adv. Praxeam*, c. xx.: *totum Instrumentum utriusque Testamenti.*)

Among the apostolic writings which we find generally recognised in this age, were the Acts of the Apostles, the thirteen Pauline Epistles, 1st John and 1st Peter.

(*a.*) *The Acts of the Apostles.* Though we do not find traces of the use of this book in the early Church, and

though it seems but seldom quoted afterwards, we may with great probability assume that it was known in the Church side by side with St. Luke's Gospel; and that when the four Gospels were collected and regarded as distinctively canonical, it occupied the place of an appendix to them,—an authentic account of the history of the Church after Christ's ascension. We find it placed after the Gospels in the Latin list, and also in the Peshito, and often quoted by the three Fathers above named as a canonical work of St. Luke's; and it has ever since been received in the Church, while all other histories of the apostolic age have been excluded.

(*b.*) The *thirteen Pauline Epistles.* Besides the ten which Marcion has in his Canon, the three Pastoral Epistles, which had probably been included with the rest by the Church at large before Marcion's time. We find all these in the Peshito, named also in the Latin list, and frequently used by the three Fathers as apostolic and canonical writings, with the single exception of the Epistle to Philemon, which Clement of Alexandria and Irenæus do not cite in the works of theirs which have come down to us; but this may doubtless be accounted for by the narrow scope and private reference of the letter.

(*c.*) 1*st John and* 1*st Peter.* The Peshito has both these epistles, and the Fathers before named frequently use them as apostolic and canonical. The Epistle of St. John is named in the Latin list, but not 1st Peter; but considering the general esteem in which 1st Peter was held even earlier by the Church, it has reasonably been supposed that its omission here is owing to the fragmentary character of the list; and even the apocryphal Apocalypse of St. Peter seems to be named in it.[1]

[1] See the passage quoted in the next note but one, where the Apocalypse of Peter is supposed to be meant by *Petri tantum*, these words being joined to the foregoing, and the word *Apocalypses* being in the plural. Still there is much to be urged in favour of the opinion, which also WIESELER (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1856) holds, that *et* here introduces a new sentence, and that for *tantum* we should read *unam: Et Petri unam* (*sc. epistolam*) *recepimus*, etc. If this be correct, 1st Peter is of course mentioned here.

§ 244.

The other books which we now find in the N. T. were not received in this age as canonical writings, nor regarded as properly ranking among the ἀποστολικά by all sections of the Church. The position they severally hold with reference to the main testimonies already named is as follows :—

(*a.*) *The Revelation* was then received by the greater part of the Church as an apostolic work of canonical rank, and was used as such by Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Tertullian. But it is wanting in the Peshito; and it is very improbable, though Hug and Thiersch (p. 315) think, that it was originally there: see Guericke, § 34. We may therefore conclude that when this Syriac version was made, the Revelation was not ranked as a canonical work, and was not considered apostolic by the Syrian Church. In the Latin list it is named twice, and in different ways; still the second mention of it is obscure, and the text here is probably corrupt. Wieseler's conjecture and explanation seem to me probable (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1847, p. 846), viz. that the Revelation is named as a work which (like the *Wisdom* of Solomon[1]) was not written by St. John himself, but by another in his name.[2] That it was not generally received in the Roman Church at this time as an apostolic work, is evident from the statement of Caius that it was a work by Cerinthus (see § 229).

(*b.*) We find *the Epistle to the Hebrews* in the Peshito;

[1] This refers not, as Wieseler (1856, p. 93) takes it, to our canonical book of Proverbs, but to the apocryphal book of Wisdom. [Still, according to Prov. xxv. 1, the book of Proverbs, which was often called by the ancients the "book of Wisdom," may certainly be meant.]

[2] The passage of the Latin manuscript in question runs as follows (according to HERTZ): *epistola sane judæ et superscrictio* (*leg. supra-scripti*) *johannis duas* (*duæ?*) *in catholica habentur et sapientia ab amicis salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta apocalypse* (*apocalypsis*, or plural *-es?*) *etiam johanis* (*johannis*) *et petri tantum recepimus quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt.* WIESELER as well as others would read UT *sapientia*, joining this to what follows, thus: "As we have the book of Wisdom written by Solomon's friends in honour of him, so also have we the Apocalypse of John in the Catholic Church."

but it is placed after the Pauline Epistles, after those of St. Paul's written to individuals. And we may infer from this, that when the Pauline Epistles were gathered into one collection, it was not regarded as Pauline; otherwise it would certainly have been placed among his epistles written to Churches collectively. In the Church at Alexandria it was regarded as Pauline; but the Western Church generally at this time did not regard it as such (see § 193).

(*c.*) Of the remaining General Epistles, the Peshito has only that of *James*, but none of the four others—Jude, 2d Peter, 2d and 3d John—which had no ecclesiastical esteem in the Syrian Church. The Epistle of James does not seem as yet to have been regarded as canonical beyond the Syrian Church. Clement of Alexandria commented upon it, together with the other General Epistles, in his *Hypotyposes*, and very probably regarded it as a genuine work of James the Lord's brother. Still it does not follow from this, that either he or the Alexandrine Church assigned it apostolic rank. In his extant works, Clement of Alexandria never quotes this epistle, nor do Irenæus and Tertullian; and the list in Muratori's Fragment does not name it. *The Epistle of St. Jude* was held in higher esteem (except in the Syrian Church); and it is named in the Latin list of the canonical books. Though not used apparently by Irenæus, it is quoted by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian as of full authority (cf. § 210). As to *2d and 3d John*, we have proofs that *2d John* at least was known as an apostolic work, and regarded as canonical; for we find it named in the list in Muratori,[1] and referred to by Irenæus and Clemens Al. But as to *3d John*, we do not find signs of its being known to those Fathers (§ 226). Neither do we find any trace of *2d Peter* being known or recognised in this period as an apostolic work (see § 218).

Besides the apostolic books included in the N. T. as we

[1] See the extract just given, where by the "two epistles of John" we are (as BUNSEN and CREDNER) to understand not *2d and 3d John*, but the *first* and *second* epistles. To these two the writer also refers, when, quoting 1 John i. 1, he speaks of the *Epistolæ* in the plural.

now have it, Clement of Alexandria refers frequently, and in precisely the same manner, to several other writings, without drawing any line of demarcation. According to Eusebius (vi. 14; see § 218), he treated in his *Hypotyposes* of the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* as well as of the General Epistles. He also refers in his extant works[1] to the *Epistle of Barnabas* and that of *Clement of Rome* just as to apostolic epistles, and speaks of the author whom he quotes as "the apostle;" he also cites the *Shepherd of Hermas* pretty often as a genuine prophetic work. Irenæus also (*Hær.* iv. 3) quotes a saying from this last-named book with the same formula as quotations from the canonical Scriptures — *εἶπεν ἡ γραφή*; but this occurs in this one place only, and not in any other references to the apostolic Fathers. Tertullian, on the other hand, speaks most strongly (*de pudic.* c. x. xx.[2]) against *the Shepherd of Hermas*, and he makes hardly any use of the writings of the apostolic Fathers. In the list in Muratori *the Shepherd* is also named almost last, but as a work recently composed, which might be read, but which does not rank among the prophetic and apostolic writings. The last of the writings there named are those of certain Gnostic heretics which are repudiated, just as in what precedes are two apocryphal epistles of Paul—(*a*) that to the Laodiceans, still extant (see § 188), and that to the Alexandrines, since lost, [by which many suppose that the Epistle to the Hebrews is meant; but see against this, Bleek's *Einleitung in d. Br. an die Hebr.* p. 43 sqq., 122].

§ 245.

The N. T. Canon remained without any material change during the third century, save that in the Alexandrine

[1] [See the passages named in the indices to his works. Cf. also EUSEB. vi. 13: *Κέχρηται δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς (τοῖς στρώμασι) καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων γραφῶν μαρτυρίαις, τῆς τε λεγομένης Σολομῶντος σοφίας καὶ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σιρὰχ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς, τῆς τε Βαρνάβα καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ Ἰούδα.*] See also LARDNER, i. 394.

[2] For the latter passage (c. xx.), see § 193, note.

Church especially full canonical authority was allowed to those epistles only which had been written by apostles. The chief witness for the first half of this century is ORIGEN, whose judgment upon the N. T. Canon we have summarized in Eusebius, vi. 25. He considered the Gospel Canon closed with our four Gospels.[1] He mentions, indeed, two other Gospels,—that of Peter once (see § 120), and that *καθ' Ἑβραίους* (see § 45, 41) twice. But he clearly distinguishes these from the canonical Gospels fully recognised by the Church. The Acts of the Apostles he not only describes unhesitatingly as a work of Luke's; but (*in Johann.* tom. i. c. v.) he places it between the Gospels and the apostolic epistles as a constituent part of the N. T. collection, and of equal rank with the other books. In his *Proœmium* to tom. v. *in Ev. Joann.*[2] he mentions Paul, Peter, and John only as the writers of the N. T. epistles. He does not name James and Jude, and we may from this infer that he did not attribute so high a canonical rank to these two epistles as to those of the three first-named apostles,[3] though they were known to him, and he more than once quotes both.[4] As to the Epistles of St. John, Origen expressly distinguishes the first as certainly genuine from the

[1] Ἁ. *καὶ μόνα ἀναντίῤῥητά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Cf. *in Joann.* tom. i. c. vi.: *Τεσσάρων ὄντων τῶν εὐαγγελίων——, οἱονεὶ στοιχείων τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐξ ὧν στοιχείων ὁ πᾶς συνέστηκε κόσμος ἐν Χριστῷ καταλλαγείς τῷ Θεῷ* (2 Cor. v. 19).

[2] [In EUSEBIUS, vi. 25, after speaking of St. Paul, he proceeds: *Πέτρος . . . μίαν ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην καταλέλοιπεν. Ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν· ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ. Τί δεῖ περὶ τοῦ ἀναπεσόντος λέγειν ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Ἰωάννου, ὃς εὐαγγέλιον ἓν καταλέλοιπεν; . . . Ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ἀποκάλυψιν. . . . Καταλέλοιπε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων στίχων· ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην· ἐπεὶ οὐ πάντες φασὶ γνησίους εἶναι ταύτας· πλὴν οὐκ εἰσὶ στίχων ἀμφότεραι ἑκατόν.*]

[3] [Cf. the manner in which he introduces a quotation from Jude (ver. 6) in his *Comm. in Matth.* tom. xvii.: *Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰούδα πρόσοιτό τις ἐπιστολήν.*]

[4] It seems otherwise in *Homil.* vii. *in Jos.* § 1: *Petrus etiam duabus epistolarum suarum personat tubis; Jacobus quoque et Judas; addit nihilominus et Johannes tuba canere per epistolas suas.* [Cf. also *Homil.* xiii. *in Genes.*] But RUFINUS has certainly altered this passage.

other two, which he considers more doubtful, and which he does not quote; still we have seen (§ 226) that somewhat later Dionysius of Alex. regarded them as apostolic, and 2d John certainly received the recognition of the Church in proconsular Africa in the middle of the third century. As to 2d Peter, Origen is the first among the writers whose works have come down to us who expressly mentions it, but speaks of it as a doubtful work. Even in this century there are very few certain traces of the use of this epistle, at least of its use as an apostolic and canonical work: the only exception is perhaps that of Firmilian in Cappadocia. Origen reckons the Epistle to the Hebrews among those of St. Paul, but he attributes to St. Paul only the thoughts of this epistle.[1] The apostolic and canonical rank of this epistle seems to have been quite established in the Alexandrine Church among later writers, and in the Syrian Church; but the Western Churches generally, and especially the Roman Church, though it was not unknown among them, allowed it even in the third century no canonical authority, and did not recognise it as an apostolic work. Lastly, as to the Revelation, Origen regards it, apparently without misgiving, as an apostolic

[1] [EUSEBIUS, vi. 25: Ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς ἐν ταῖς εἰς αὐτὴν ὁμιλίαις ταῦτα διαλαμβάνει (ὁ Ὠριγένης)· "Ὅτι ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῆς λέξεως τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιγεγραμμένης ἐπιστολῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, ὁμολογήσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἰδιώτην εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, τουτέστι τῇ Φράσει· ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως ἑλληνικωτέρα, πᾶς ὁ ἐπιστάμενος κρίνειν Φράσεως διαΦορὰς ὁμολογήσαι ἄν. Πάλιν τε αὖ ὅτι τὰ νοήματα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς θαυμάσια ἐστι, καὶ οὐ δεύτερα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὁμολογουμένων γραμμάτων, καὶ τοῦτο ἂν συμΦήσαι εἶναι ἀληθὲς πᾶς ὁ προσέχων τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῇ ἀποστολικῇ." Τούτοις μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιΦέρει λέγων· "Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποΦαινόμενος εἶποιμ' ἄν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν νοήματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστὶν, ἡ δὲ Φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις ἀπομνημονεύσαντός τινος τὰ ἀποστολικὰ καὶ ὡσπερεὶ σχολιογραΦήσαντος τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου. Εἴ τις οὖν ἐκκλησία ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Παύλου, αὕτη εὐδοκιμείτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ· οὐ γὰρ εἰκῇ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παραδεδώκασι. Τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολήν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς Θεὸς οἶδεν. Ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς Φθάσασα ἱστορία, ὑπό τινων μὲν λεγόντων, ὅτι Κλήμης ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥωμαίων ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ὑπό τινων δὲ, ὅτι Λουκᾶς ὁ γράψας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς πράξεις." For an explanation of this passage, see above, § 193.]

work of canonical rank; and thus it was regarded and treated during this century by many other writers, *e.g.* by Apollonius,[1] Hippolytus, Cyprian, Victorinus of Petabio in Pannonia.[2] Nevertheless, at the end of the second century and the beginning of this, doubts and objections against the book make way in the Greek Church upon the decline of chiliastic views, and through the influence of the Montanist controversies. We find this even in the Alexandrine Church, where Dionysius Al. (see Euseb. vii. 25) was led to institute a critical inquiry concerning the book more rigid and searching than was the spirit of the age, and as the result of which he came to the conclusion that it was not certainly an apostolic work, meaning thereby that it did not possess full canonical authority as the work of the Apostle John.

Origen also makes use of the writings of the apostolic Fathers. The Epistles of Ignatius, that of Barnabas, that of Clement of Rome, he quotes reverentially, and chiefly the Shepherd of Hermas, which he cites as having *scripturarum auctoritas*, and as a work inspired as to its sense; but he does not fail to say that this treatise was used in the Church, but was not recognised by all as divine, or "that it was despised by some."[3] He himself carefully distinguishes these writings, and more clearly than Clement of Alex., from those which are strictly canonical—the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the apostolic epistles, which he collectively names the καινὴ διαθήκη, or πᾶσα ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη (*in Joann.* tom.

[1] [According to EUSEB. v. 18, Κέχρηται μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου ἀποκαλύψεως. APOLLONIUS wrote against the Montanists.]

[2] VICTORINUS, according to JEROME (*de viris ill.* 74), CASSIODORUS (*inst. div.* v.), also wrote a commentary upon the Revelation; see BLEEK'S *Vorlesungen über die Apokalypse*, p. 34 sq.

[3] [*Comm. in ep. ad Rom.*: "*Puto quod Hermas iste sit scriptor libelli illius, qui Pastor appellatur, quæ scriptura valde mihi utilis videtur et, ut puto, divinitus inspirata.*" *Homil.* viii. *in Num.*: "*In libello Pastoris, si cui tamen scriptura illa recipienda videtur.*" *Comm. in Matth.*: Εἰ χρὴ τολμήσαντα καὶ ἀπό τινος φερομένης μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γραφῆς, οὐ παρὰ πᾶσι δὲ ὁμολογουμένης εἶναι θείας καὶ τοιοῦτον παραμυθήσασθαι, λῃφθείη ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιμένος.]

i. c. 5 *fin.*).[1] Still he does not regard these as apocryphal writings, like the πράξεις Παύλου and the κήρυγμα of Peter. No Christian writings besides those found in our N. T. were used as canonical by other Churches. Among the heretical sects of this third century who objected to the books regarded by the Church catholic as canonical, the Manichæans are specially to be named. They received indeed the N. T. writings usually reverenced by the orthodox Church, but they did not regard them so reverentially: they ventured critically to test the contents of the sacred books. They argued that the first canonical Gospel was not by St. Matthew, because in it he is spoken of in the third person; and they also asserted that Christ's discourses were to some extent altered and falsified in the Gospels. They held that there were falsifications in the other books of the N. T., wherever the texts in question were not in harmony with their doctrines. They, on the other hand, adopted several apocryphal writings which were never recognised in the Church.

§ 246.

The witness whom we have next to examine for the history of the N. T. Canon belongs to the fourth century. He is EUSEBIUS in his *Church History* (written circ. 326), where he not only gives his own views, but the judgment likewise of other writers, his predecessors and contemporaries. The main passage in Eusebius about the Canon is in book iii. ch. xxv., and with this may be named *ib.* ch. iii. 24. In the first-named and famous passage (iii. 25) he divides the collective writings which belong to the primitive age of Christianity, and which might claim to be considered canonical, into

[1] According to DE WETTE (*Einl. ins A. T.* § 23), GUERICKE, SCHLEIERMACHER, p. 57, ORIGEN likewise speaks of two portions of the N. T. as εὐαγγέλιον and ἀπόστολος (*Hom. in Jerem.*, Opp. iii. 264, ed. Delarue); but this can no more be inferred from the passage in question (εὔχομαι τὴν μονὰν εἴτε εὐαγγελίου, εἴτε ἀποστόλου, εἴτε προφήτου, εἴτε νόμου ποιῆσαι πολλαπλασίονα), than that he includes all the O. T. except the Pentateuch under the term ὁ προφήτης.

different classes; but it is matter of question into how many, whether into two, three, four, or five. A close examination of the passage, however, and a comparison of it with iii. 31 *fin.*, leaves no doubt (and this is now generally acknowledged) that he makes *three* classes, viz.: 1. ὁμολογούμενα; 2. ἀντιλεγόμενα (also called νόθα); 3. writings forged by heretics.

1. The ὁμολογούμενα. This word as here used not only means "acknowledged as genuine," but implies that the book is universally recognised (and, in the opinion of Eusebius, rightly) as canonical, as a constituent part of the Canon of Scripture. These ὁμολογούμενα are called in ch. xxxi. "holy Scriptures which the apostles have left to us;" in the title to ch. xxv. they are described as "writings generally recognised as divine;" and in the course of this chapter Eusebius describes them as τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀπλάστους καὶ ἀνωμολογημένας γραφάς, and again ἐνδιάθηκοι γραφαί. These are accordingly the books whose canonicity is acknowledged, the books which together constitute the Scriptures κατ' ἐξ. of the N. T.

2. The second class he first designates ἀντιλεγόμενα, those against which objection was raised—those whose canonical rank was not universally acknowledged, but which were recognised by most. That is to say, they were used by many writers, and were frequently read in the churches. Eusebius goes on to describe them as distinct from the first class, thus: οὐκ ἐνδιαθήκους μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλεγομένας, ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γιγνωσκομένας (by the ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς he probably means orthodox Church writers as distinct from heretical writers): he expressly distinguishes these from τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἱρετικῶν προφερομένας. And in ch. xxxi. he calls this class τὰ ἀντιλεγόμενα μὲν, ὅμως δ' ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις παρὰ πολλοῖς δεδημοσιευμένα. These clearly constitute one and the same class, which he designates further on in the main passage (ch. xxv.) as νόθα,—νόθος not being here = *spurious* or *forged*, but simply denoting a *spurium* with reference to their canonicity. He means writings which laid claim to canonicity, and were regarded as canonical by many, but whose genuineness was

suspected by some, in whose opinion Eusebius coincides, for he says, *ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω, i.e.* they have not the rank of canonical and apostolic scriptures, though this is claimed for them by many, and though they are not utterly to be rejected.

3. The third class includes those already referred to *ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἱρετικῶν προφερόμεναι.* These Eusebius describes in ch. xxxi. as *παντελῶς νόθα καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀλλότρια*; and in ch. xxv. he says of them that they are cited by none of the successive Fathers (*τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν*). Both their style and their contents showed plainly that they were the compositions of heretical writers, *ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐν νόθοις αὐτὰ κατατακτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄτοπα πάντη καὶ δυσσεβῆ παραιτητέον.* The writings which Eusebius describes as belonging to this class never were admitted as parts of the N. T., but had always been regarded by the Church as apocryphal. Among them, he says, we may reckon the Gospels of Peter, of Thomas, and of Matthias, and some others; also the *πράξεις* of Andrew and John, and other apostles.

At the head of the *first* class in Eusebius the four Gospels stand, ranking with which he names no other Gospels; nor are there any other Gospels in the second class except the Gospel of the Hebrews, which he names quite at the end of the second class. Of apostolic writings among the Homologoumena, he names next the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles, which maintain unassailed their place in the Canon. It is to be observed here, however, that Eusebius does not specify the Epistle to the Hebrews, but includes it as a matter of course among the epistles of St. Paul. That he tacitly includes it, and has not (as Guericke suggests) omitted it through forgetfulness, is clear from iii. 3: *τοῦ δὲ Παύλου πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες.* Nevertheless he well knew that this epistle was then rejected, and was not regarded as Pauline, or apostolic even, by many, as it seems, in the Greek Church, who rested their objections upon the objections of the Roman Church against it. Eusebius accordingly, in another place (vi. 13; see above, § 244), says

that Clement of Alexandria has made use of the testimony of *ἀντιλεγομένων γραφῶν*, among which he names the Epistle to the Hebrews, which depends upon the testimony of others concerning it. Eusebius himself, however, and most theologians in the Greek Church of his time, numbered the epistle among the writings which were to be acknowledged without hesitation as canonical, though he concludes, from the style of writing and argument, that the Greek version of the epistle was the work of Clement of Rome, who translated it from the Hebrew of St. Paul. (See, on this epistle, Euseb. iii. 3. 38, ii. 17.) As to the other N. T. epistles, we learn from Eusebius that before his time, and in the middle of the third century, the Epistles of James and Jude, 2d Peter, 2d and 3d John, together with 1st Peter and 1st John, were blended together in the Greek Church into one complete collection called the General Epistles (cf. § 202). It would appear from this, that the same rank and esteem were given to each of these seven epistles. But we find from Eusebius that this was not so. He reckons but *two* of these general epistles among the Homologoumena, viz. 1st John and 1st Peter, which had always been recognised as apostolic; and he places the other *five* among the Antilegomena, and does not seem inclined himself to accord to them full canonical rank, as appears from other passages in his *History*. Of 2d Peter he expressly says, iii. 3: *οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν*. He observes, however, at the same time, that many regarded the epistle as profitable, and made diligent use of it side by side with the other epistles: it certainly seems then to have been esteemed, in some churches at least, as an apostolic work, and as possessing canonical rank. Of 2d and 3d John he says (iii. 24) that they *ἀντιλέγονται*: he himself speaks doubtfully of them, doubting whether they are by the apostle or the Presbyter John. Still he inclines to the latter view, and on this account he would naturally be inclined to refuse them full recognition as canonical writings. As to the Epistles of James and Jude, he (ii. 23) expresses himself so as to imply that these were read in most churches, and were looked upon as cano-

nical writings; and Eusebius will not allow them this rank, simply because he attaches great weight to the ancient traditions. In other places he quotes the Epistle of James as a canonical work, but not the Epistle of Jude. Eusebius expresses himself most hesitatingly concerning the *Apocalypse*. He names it twice, among the books of the first and then of the second class; and he intimates how uncertain it is whether it should be reckoned in the first or in the second. He leaves it with each one to decide for himself εἰ φανείη. With like vacillation he speaks concerning it, iii. 18, 24, 39 (see § 229): he there says that opinion is divided upon the question; but for himself he seems to incline to the opinion expressed by Dionysius Alexandrinus, viz. that it is the work of a John other than the evangelist, and he seems therefore not to allow to it full apostolic dignity. It is also to be observed, that in his exposition of the Psalms and of the book of Isaiah he does not once quote this book, though he uses all the other Homologoumena, and often seems to take pleasure in quoting texts from the Revelation.

As to the writings of the apostolic Fathers, and other books not now found in the N. T., Eusebius names none of these among the Homologoumena to which he assigns full canonical authority. Among the Antilegomena he names, (1) of the writings of the apostolic Fathers, the Shepherd of Hermas and the Epistle of Barnabas. In vi. 13, 14, Eusebius again names this last among the ἀντιλεγομένοις. As to the Shepherd of Hermas, it appears from iii. 3 that it was then publicly read here and there, and was esteemed as specially valuable in instructing catechumens; but others, again, and among them is Eusebius, will not allow to the book any canonical authority. But it is very strange, and must be looked upon as an oversight, that he did not in this main passage likewise mention the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. De Wette supposed (after Flatt) that no place was claimed for this epistle in the διαθήκη, because it was not supposed that the apostle had any share in its composition. Still it is probable that the omission is accidental, for in vi. 13 he names this book among the Antilegomena;

and in iii. 16 he remarks that it was publicly read in most churches, both before and down to his own day. In the second class of writings he also places (2) some apocryphal books: (*a*) *τοῦ Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφή*. According to Thiersch (pp. 337 sq., 417 sq.), this means the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* (see § 131); but whether it really is so or not must remain a matter of doubt. (*b*) *Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου*, which in vi. 14 also he reckons among the *ἀντιλεγόμενα* that Clement of Alexandria has expounded in his *Hypotyposes*, and which seems to be named in the Fragment of Muratori side by side with the Apocalypse of John. Eusebius (iii. 3) designates this, with other writings forged in Peter's name, not as heretical, but to be rejected because tradition has nothing in its favour. (*c*) *Ἀποστόλων διδαχαί*, *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, to which he does not elsewhere allude.

[We now give the passages referred to in Eusebius. First the main and famous statement, *H. E.* iii. 25: *Εὔλογον δ' ἐνταῦθα γενομένους, ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης γραφάς. Καὶ δὴ τακτέον ἐν πρώτοις τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν· οἷς ἕπεται ἡ τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφή· μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὰς Παύλου καταλεκτέον ἐπιστολάς· αἷς ἑξῆς τὴν φερομένην Ἰωάννου προτέραν, καὶ ὁμοίως τὴν Πέτρου κυρωτέον ἐπιστολήν. Ἐπὶ τούτοις τακτέον, εἴγε φανείη, τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου, περὶ ἧς τὰ δόξαντα κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκθησόμεθα. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις. Τῶν δ' ἀντιλεγομένων, γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου φέρεται καὶ ἡ Ἰούδα· ἥτε Πέτρου δευτέρα ἐπιστολὴ καὶ ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου· εἴτε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τυγχάνουσαι, εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρου ὁμωνύμου ἐκείνῳ. Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφὴ, ὅ τε λεγόμενος ποιμὴν, καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου. Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολὴ, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί· ἔτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανείη, ἣν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις. Ἤδη δ' ἐν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι. Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἂν εἴη.*

Ἀναγκαίως δὲ καὶ τούτων ὅμως τὸν κατάλογον πεποιήμεθα, διακρίναντες τάς τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀπλάστους καὶ ἀνωμολογημένας γραφὰς, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παρὰ ταύτας, οὐκ ἐνδιαθήκους μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλεγομένας, ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γινωσκομένας· ἵν' εἰδέναι ἔχοιμεν αὐτάς τε ταύτας, καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἱρετικῶν προφερομένας· ἤτοι ὡς Πέτρου, καὶ Θωμᾶ, καὶ Ματθία, ἢ καί τινων παρὰ τούτους ἄλλων εὐαγγέλια περιεχούσας· ἢ ὡς Ἀνδρέου, καὶ Ἰωάννου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων πράξεις· ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐν συγγράμματι τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνὴρ εἰς μνήμην ἀγαγεῖν ἠξίωσεν. Πόρρω δέ που καὶ ὁ τῆς φράσεως παρὰ τὸ ἦθος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐναλλάττει χαρακτὴρ· ἥ τε γνώμη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φερομένων προαίρεσις, πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀπάδουσα, ὅτι δὴ αἱρετικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναπλάσματα τυγχάνει, σαφῶς παρίστησιν· ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐν νόθοις αὐτὰ κατατακτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄτοπα πάντη καὶ δυσσεβῆ παραιτητέον. *Ib.* iii. 3: Πέτρου μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ μία ἡ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ προτέρα, ἀνωμολόγηται· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ οἱ πάλαι πρεσβύτεροι ὡς ἀναμφιλέκτῳ ἐν τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν κατακέχρηνται συγγράμμασι. Τὴν δὲ φερομένην αὐτοῦ δευτέραν οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν. Ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν. Τό γε μὴν τῶν ἐπικεκλημένων αὐτοῦ πράξεων, καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ὠνομασμένον εὐαγγέλιον, τό τε λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ κήρυγμα καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ἀποκάλυψιν οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα, ὅτι μή τε ἀρχαίων μή τε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχρήσατο μαρτυρίαις . . . Τοῦ δὲ Παύλου πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες. Ὅτι γε μήν τινες ἠθετήκασι τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους, πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, οὐ δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν. . . . Οὐδὲ μὴν τὰς λεγομένας αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἐν ἀναμφιλέκτῳ παρειλήφα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τέλει προσρήσεσι τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, μνήμην πεποίηται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ Ἑρμᾶ, οὗ φασὶν ὑπάρχειν τὸ τοῦ ποιμένος βιβλίον, ἰστέον ὡς καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς μὲν τινῶν ἀντιλέλεκται, δι' οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις τεθείη, ὑφ' ἑτέρων δὲ ἀναγ-

καιότατον οἷς μάλιστα δεῖ στοιχειώσεως εἰσαγωγικῆς, κέκριται. Ὅθεν ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν αὐτὸ δεδημοσιευμένον, καὶ τῶν παλαιοτάτων δὲ συγγραφέων κεχρημένους τινὰς αὐτῷ κατείληφα. *Ib.* iii. 24: Τῶν δὲ Ἰωάννου συγγραμμάτων πρὸς τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ ἡ προτέρα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, παρά τε τοῖς νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔτ' ἀρχαίοις ἀναμφίλεκτος ὡμολόγηται, ἀντιλέγονται δ' αἱ λοιπαὶ δύο. Τῆς δ' ἀποκαλύψεως ἐφ' ἑκάτερον ἔτι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς περιέλκεται ἡ δόξα. Ὅμως γε μὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίας ἐν οἰκείῳ καιρῷ τὴν ἐπίκρισιν δέξεται καὶ αὐτή. *Ib.* ii. 23: Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, οὗ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται. Ἰστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μὲν, οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα, μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὔσης τῶν ἑπτὰ λεγομένων καθολικῶν. Ὅμως δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείσταις δεδημοσιευμένας ἐκκλησίαις. *Ib.* iii. 16: Τούτου δὴ οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὁμολογουμένη μία ἐπιστολὴ φέρεται, μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμασία. . . . Ταύτην δὲ καὶ ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ δεδημοσιευμένην πάλαι τε καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔγνωμεν.]

The statements of Eusebius respecting the N. T. Canon amount to this, that it was not fully and finally closed as it regards the apostolic writings (*τὰ ἀποστολικά*) at the time he wrote. The Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Pauline epistles, 1st John and 1st Peter, were all the *ἀποστολικά* of the N. T. universally recognised as canonical in the Church. The seven remaining books which we now find in this second part of the N. T. collection were frequently used in the Church, and were by many placed side by side with the others; but this estimation of them was not universal. The Epistle to the Hebrews, for example, was recognised only in the Greek Church, and not universally even there, while in the Roman Church it found hardly any acceptance as an apostolic work; the Apocalypse, on the other hand, seems to have increasingly lost its canonical standing in the Greek Church. While Eusebius places these books (excepting the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he reckons among the Pauline Epistles) in the second class, the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, he virtually

excludes them from the N. T. Canon, from the γραφῶν ἐνδιαθήκων, and puts them on a par with other writings which we do not now recognise as belonging to the N. T. Canon, with the writings of the apostolic Fathers, and those apocryphal books which were not heretical in their contents. Still in his judgment there seems to be a certain distinction to be drawn among the writings of this second class: he seems to award a higher rank to those five of them which are now in our collection, viz. the five general epistles, than to the works of the apostolic Fathers and others; though this distinction is not very clearly drawn.

§ 247.

It was not long, however, before the Canon of the N. T., with reference to the ἀποστολικά, became as definitely fixed and closed as the εὐαγγελικά had for some time been. This took place in the Greek and in the Latin Churches about the same time, *i.e.* in the latter half of the fourth century, when we find just those writings of the ἀποστολικά in the N. T. which we now include, recognised as canonical by the Church at large, and all others excluded from it. As to the Greek Church, several lists of the canonical books have come down to us in the writings of the Greek Fathers, which may be regarded as the main testimonies as to the state of the Canon at this time. They are as follows:—

1. The Canon of ATHANASIUS, bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 326–373, in the fragment of an *Epistola paschalis*. 2. Σύνοψις τῆς θείας γραφῆς,—a work which is in only one manuscript and one handwriting, where it is described as the work of Athanasius of Alexandria; and it is accordingly included by many among the works of Athanasius of Alexandria, and attributed to him: but none of the older writers regarded it as the work of Athanasius. In our day it is generally regarded as not his work. Credner, in his *History of the Canon*, p. 127, thinks that it is by another Athanasius, probably belonging to the tenth century; but it certainly belongs to an earlier time than this, and has the Canon of Athanasius as the basis of it. 3. CYRIL, bishop of Jeru-

salem, perhaps from A.D. 350, *ob.* 386, in his *Catechesis*, iv. Nos. 33–36. 4. GREGORY NAZIANZEN, *ob.* 389, *Carmen de veris Scripturæ libris* [Opp. ed. Caillau, Paris 1840, folio, ii. 259 sq.]. 5. *Iambi ad Seleucum*, among the writings of Gregory Nazianzen, supposed by some to be a letter addressed to him, and by others to be a letter of his to his contemporary, Bishop Amphilochius of Iconium. 6. Canon 59 of the *Concilii Laodiceni*, held in Laodicea in Lycia, but at what time is uncertain; probably about the middle of the fourth century, 360–364. 7. *Canones Apostolici* (in Cotelerius, *Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt*, etc.; Opera, vol. i.), which perhaps originated in Asia, and in their present form belong to the fourth century, in the 85th canon. 8. EPIPHANIUS of Palestine, bishop of Salamis in Crete from A.D. 367, *ob. circ.* 402; *Hær.* lxxvi. p. 941. 9. I also name here a list which we find at the end of the *Chronography* of Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople (*ob.* 828), but which had come down to him, and must therefore have belonged to an earlier period. Credner (*Gesch. des Kanons*, 95) thinks that it belongs to the fifth century, and that it emanated from the Syrian Church: this last conjecture is, however, very improbable.

[Most of these lists will be found in full, and translated, in LARDNER'S *Credibility*; Works, vol. ii. 4to, 1815. In the *Iambi ad Seleucum* (*Gregorii Nazianz.*, Opp. ed. Caillau, ii. 1102 sq.), after the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and fourteen Pauline Epistles have been named, we read: *. . . τινὲς δέ φασι τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους νόθην, οὐκ εὖ λέγοντες· γνησία γὰρ ἡ χάρις. Εἶεν τί λοιπὸν, καθολικὰς ἐπιστολὰς; Τινὲς μὲν ἑπτά φασιν· οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μόνας χρῆναι δέχεσθαι, τὴν Ἰακώβου μίαν, μίαν τε Πέτρου, τήν τε Ἰωάννου μίαν. Τινὲς δὲ τὰς τρεῖς, καὶ πρὸς αὐταῖς τὰς δύο Πέτρου δέχονται, τὴν Ἰούδα δ' ἑβδόμην. Τὴν δὲ ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου πάλιν τινὲς μὲν ἐγκρίνουσιν, οἱ πλείους δέ γε νόθην λέγουσιν. Οὗτος ἀψευδέστατος κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν.*]

§ 248.

Viewing the evidence furnished by these lists collectively, with other passing statements of the Greek Fathers belonging to this period, we find a marked difference of opinion existing with reference to the Apocalypse only, which was regarded as canonical in the Church of Alexandria alone, and not in the strictly Greek and Palestinian Churches. It occurs among the lists referred to in Athanasius, in the *Synopsis* of Epiphanius, who spent the early part of his life as a monk in Egypt; and it was in use among the Egyptian writers of this age, as by the Egyptian monks Macarius and Didymus (at the end of the fourth century), by Cyril bishop of Alexandria, *ob.* 444. But it is omitted in all the other lists, except that of *Iambi ad Seleucum*, where it is observed at the end that some include it, but most regard it as spurious. In the list of Nicephorus it is placed, with the Apocalypse of Peter, among the Antilegomena of the N. T. It is worthy of notice that Chrysostom (bishop of Constantinople from 398, *ob.* 407) and Theodoret (bishop of Cyrus in Syria, *ob.* 457) never quote the Apocalypse in their works, though their exegetical writings presented ample opportunity for such references. Gregory of Nyssa cites it as a Johannine work, but as apocryphal; and Cyril of Jerusalem seems to describe it in the same manner, *Cateches.* xvi., where, after saying that the dominion of Antichrist will last three and a half years, he adds that he bases this opinion not upon apocryphal books, but upon the book of Daniel. In this observation he clearly has in his mind Rev. xiii. 5. Basil the Great only, in Cappadocia, brother to Gregory of Nyssa (*ob.* 379), appeals to this book, and so does Ephrem Syrus (*ob.* 378 at Edessa) in the Syrian Church. Viewing together, however, the testimonies referred to, they seem to sanction the statement of Jerome, that the Greek Church of his time did not receive the Apocalypse. *Ep. ad Dardanum*, 129 (see above, § 193, note).

After this time, however, and from the fifth century downwards, objection to the Apocalypse gradually waned and disappeared in the Eastern Church. This was owing mainly to

the high esteem in which it was held by the pseudo-Dionysius, who wrote about the end of the fourth century, and whose works were regarded as a high authority in the Greek Church. In his *Hierarchia ecclesiastica* there is a list given of the books of Holy Scripture, couched in bombastic language; and in it we find the Apocalypse, which is much praised. In addition to this, we may mention the influence of the Alexandrine Church and of the Latin Church in guiding Christian thought and opinion. The Synod of Toledo (A.D. 633), in its seventeenth canon, pronounced an anathema upon those who rejected the Apocalypse, or who omitted *a pascha ad pentecostem missorum tempore* (from it) *prædicare*. The fact that two bishops of Cæsarea, Andreas and Arethas (at the end of the fifth century), each wrote a commentary upon the Revelation, shows the esteem in which it was then held in the Greek, and especially in the Palestinian Church. In the list of the books of the O. and N. T. left us by Leontius Byzantinus (6th–7th century), who was lastly a monk in Palestine, the Apocalypse is placed in the same class with the other books; and John Damascenus (*ob. post* A.D. 754) also reckons it among the canonical books. Those Fathers only differ from this opinion who reason from the statements of earlier writers; as *e.g.* the author of the στιχομετρία attributed to Nicephorus a list of canonical and apocryphal books, who reckons the Apocalypse among the Antilegomena on account of the doubts entertained about it at an earlier period, and which he had learned from Eusebius, but not because of any objections urged against it at the time he wrote. Theophylact, on the contrary, archbishop of Bulgaria, who was guided in his opinions chiefly by Chrysostom, followed him in abstaining from any references to the Apocalypse. We may, on the whole, conclude that in the Greek Church at this time, the Apocalypse was numbered unhesitatingly among the canonical books, and it has maintained its place there ever since.

As to the Epistle to the Hebrews, it is remarked in *Iambi ad Seleucum* that some rejected it as spurious; this view, however, is condemned, and in all the other lists cited it is

included among the Pauline Epistles. Thus, indeed, it was ranked by all the orthodox Greek writers of this time; but the Arians, some of them rejected it, though Arius himself seemingly did not. In keeping with this high rank assigned to it in the Greek Church, we find it placed among the Pauline Epistles in the MSS. In the time of Epiphanius the epistle had (Epiph. *Hær.* 42) its place in many manuscripts, where we now generally find it, after Philemon, as the fourteenth Pauline epistle; but in others as the tenth, before the Pastoral Epistles and Philemon. And the Pauline Epistles are named in this order in the lists of Athanasius, the Synopsis and the Council of Laodicea. Thus, too, the Epistle to the Hebrews stands after 2d Thessalonians in the oldest manuscripts of the N. T., probably written in Alexandria, in the Codex Alex., the Vatican, [Sinaitic.], Ephræmi; and in the Codex Vaticanus there is an indication that the epistle stood in earlier manuscripts after the Galatians.

Finally, as to our seven General Epistles, we find them in all those lists placed almost invariably among the canonical books of the N. T.; and by Athanasius, *Synopsis*, Cyril, Jerome, *Concil. Laodic.*, named after the Acts and before the Pauline Epistles; in the other lists, after the Pauline Epistles. In the *Iambis ad Seleucum*, it is remarked that some supposed there were only three general epistles—namely, 1st Peter, 1st John, and James; and the reference here probably is to the Syrian Church. Elsewhere in the Greek Church we find doubt but very rarely expressed with reference to any of these epistles. Thus Didymus, an Egyptian monk under Valens, teacher of Rufinus and Jerome, says of 2d Peter: *Non est ignorandum, præsentem epistolam esse falsatam, quæ licet publicetur, non tamen est in canone* (in the *Maxima Biblioth. Patrum*, 1677, iv. 327). Further, Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, *ob.* 425 (according to *Leont. Byzant. contra Nestor. et Eutych.* lib. iii., in Gallandi, *Biblioth.* xii. p. 686), rejected the Epistle of James, with some other general epistles: "*Ipsam epistolam Jacobi et alias deinceps aliorum catholicas abrogat et antiquat.*" Still more strange

is it that Cosmas Indicopleustes[1] (sixth century) says, with reference to the General Epistles, that he passes them by because the Church from the first was doubtful about them; and the true Christian need not base his religion upon doubtful passages, because there is enough in the Canon which is universally received for his instruction. Still this cannot be regarded as the view taken by the Church in his day. The Paulicians, again, rejected the Petrine Epistles, because St. Peter does not appear in them as an apostle.

We may in general conclude, that since the middle of the fourth century the General Epistles, those whose genuineness had been doubted, together with 1st John and 1st Peter, were given full canonical rank in the Greek Church, and this has ever since been maintained for them.

§ 249.

There were no writings ranked in the lists we have enumerated as canonical which do not now appear in our N. T. Canon, unless indeed we consider as such those named in the *Canones Apostolici*, viz. the second Epistle of Clement of Rome, and the *Constitutiones Apostolici*. Still this pretended decree of the apostles had but little esteem in the Church, for none of the writers who treat of the Canon of Scripture take any notice of it. Epiphanius, indeed, frequently names the Apostolic Constitutions with great respect: he says, that though many object against the work, it is not to be rejected; but he does not place it in his list of canonical books.

It may also be mentioned that Athanasius and the Synopsis, besides the books which form the O. and N. T. Canon, give, like Eusebius, a second class of writings, not indeed canonical, but used by their predecessors for the catechumens, and called by Athanasius *ἀναγινωσκόμενα* (cf. § 239). But they did not include among these, as Eusebius did in his Antilegomena, any writings which are now found in our N. T. Athanasius includes our O. T. Apocrypha, the Apos-

[1] *Topogr. Christ.* B. vii., in MONTFAUCON'S *Nov. Collect. Patr. et script. Græc.*; also in CREDNER, *Gesch. d. N. T. Kanon*, p. 237.

tolic Constitutions, and the Shepherd of Hermas. He, however, like Eusebius, distinguished these from the apocryphal writings written and forged by heretics. In the list in Nicephorus, books of this intermediate class are called Antilegomena, and among them were reckoned the Apocalypse of John and of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Gospel of the Hebrews; and as distinct again from these, the Apocrypha of the N. T., including the Apostolic Constitutions, the Epistles of Ignatius, Polycarp, Clement of Rome, the Shepherd of Hermas. Others of the Fathers seem not to recognise any such intermediate class: Cyril of Jerusalem, for instance, warns us expressly not to read at home the books which are not canonical, which are not read in the churches, nor generally recognised; and the Council of Laodicea gives a similar admonition: *"Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.*

§ 250.

In the Western Church the N. T. Canon became by degrees more definitely fixed and closed than previously, in a similar manner to the Greek Church, and about the same time. From the end of the fourth century downwards, we generally find the same books included in the N. T. which now form its Canon; and we find these clearly enumerated by the decrees of councils and by letters of Roman bishops, while the most distinguished writers in the Church make use of these books only. When we occasionally meet with different views, they generally have reference to some earlier opinion, but are not the outgo of any prevailing belief or practice at the time.

The lists of canonical books which we here find are as follows:—1. The 36th canon of the Council at Hippo Regius in Numidia, A.D. 393. This decree was confirmed by the third Carthaginian Synod, A.D. 397, and again at the Synod of Carthage held A.D. 419, with the resolve to seek the confirmation of the Roman bishop Bonifacius, and other bishops. Augustine took an active part in the two first-named Synods.

2. In an epistle of Innocent I. bishop of Rome, to Exsuperius bishop of Toulouse, in the year 405, wherein he gives him, at his desire, a list of the books received into the Canon (in Mansi, *Concil.* iii. 1040; Credner, *Gesch. d. N. T. Kanons*, p. 279). 3. There is a list extant under the name of the Roman bishop Gelasius I., which was made at a Synod in Rome, A.D. 494 (in Mansi, viii. 146; Credner, *Gesch. d. Kanons*, pp. 151–290). 4. Philastrius, bishop of Brescia in Upper Italy, at the end of the fourth century, enumerates the books which, according to the direction of apostles, were to be read in the Church.[1] 5. Rufinus, presbyter at Aquileia, *ob.* 410, in the *Expositio symb. apost.* 6. Jerome, *ob.* 420; ep. 103 *ad Paulinum.*

The observations of Jerome are particularly worthy of notice; for he not only gives his own judgment, but that of earlier Fathers down to his own time. As to the General Epistles, he intimates[2] that 2d Peter was by most held not to be the work of St. Peter (*vir. illust.* 1); that the Epistle of James was, according to some, written by another person of that name (c. 2); that the Epistle of Jude was rejected by many, on account of the reference it contains to the apocryphal book of Enoch (c. 4); that 2d and 3d John were, according to the *opinio plerorumque*, written by the presbyter

[1] *Hær.* 88, ed. Fabricius (the number is different in other editions): . . . *Statutum est ab Apostolis eorumque successoribus, non aliud legi in ecclesia deberi catholica, nisi legem et prophetas, et evangelia et actus apostolorum, et Pauli tredecim epistolas, et septem alias, Petri duas, Joannis tres, Judæ unam, et unam Jacobi, quæ septem actibus apostolorum conjunctæ sunt. Scripturæ autem absconditæ, i.e. apocrypha, etsi legi debent morum causa a perfectis, non ab omnibus legi debent.* Here the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Revelation are not mentioned among the canonical books.

[2] [*De viris ill.* 1: *Scripsit, Simon Petrus, duas epistolas, quæ catholicæ nominantur, quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur, propter stili cum priore dissonantiam.* For the passage upon James, see § 208. *Ib.* c. 4: *Judas frater Jacobi, parvam quidem, quæ de septem catholicis est, epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus est, in ea assumit testimonium, a plerisque rejicitur; tamen auctoritatem vetustate jam et usu meruit, et inter sanctas Scripturas computatur. Ib.* 9 and 18; see above, § 226.]

John (c. 9, 18). But these remarks have reference only to the works of earlier writers, not to the judgment of the Christian Church in his day. At this time we find the canonical rank and apostolic composition of these epistles generally recognised. Jerome himself, in his list of the canonical books of the N. T., includes the seven General Epistles without comment or remark of any kind, as the writings of the Apostles James, Jude, John, and Peter; and we find the same in the other lists of the N. T. Canon by many writers in this age and the following, *e.g.* Augustine, Ambrose, and others.

As to the Apocalypse, it does not seem to have been so universally recognised in the Roman Church at the end of the second century as we might be led to infer from the list in Muratori's Fragment (§ 244) and the judgment of Caius (§ 229). But this doubt was perhaps only transitory, and we have no sign that in the Latin Church the rank of this book was further contested. It is quoted at this time, and afterwards, as the canonical work of the Apostle John. Philastrius seems to be an exception, for he passes it by; but this was evidently because, considering the mysteriousness of its contents, he did not think it appropriate to be read in the churches. In an earlier passage (*Hær.* 60) he numbers among heretics those who reject the Gospel and the Revelation of St. John. Jerome does not hint any doubt whatever in his *De viris illust.* as to the apostolic origin of this book. In *Ep.* 129 *ad Dardanum* (see note in § 193), he says that the Greek Churches, as contrasted with the Latin, rejected the Revelation,—proving that, so far as he knew, the book was generally received by the Latin Church.

The Latin Church showed the greatest reluctance to admit the Epistle to the Hebrews to its full rank as a constituent part of the N. T. Canon. Down to the beginning of the fourth century the epistle was never really recognised in the West as an apostolic and canonical book; but from the middle of that century downwards it seems gradually to have attained a higher and more general esteem. This was owing to the influence of the Greek Church; and the

study of the Greek exegesists, especially of Origen, together with the part the Westerns took in the Arian controversies, wherein frequent appeal was made to this epistle, likewise tended to its elevation. It is quoted by many of the Latin Fathers about this time as Pauline, *e.g.* by Hilary of Poictiers, Victorinus, Lucifer of Calaris, and at the end of the fourth century by Ambrose bishop of Milan (*ob.* 397), Faustinus, Gaudentius, and others; and Philastrius denounces those as heretics (*Hær.* 89) who denied that the epistle was St. Paul's, and attributed it to Barnabas, or Luke, or Clement. Still he omits it, as well as the Apocalypse, from the list of books (*Hær.* 88) to be read in the churches; and he says in the former place, that the reason why the epistle was read but seldom in the Church, was because it had been interpolated by some evil-disposed persons, and some parts of it had been regarded as favouring the Arians and Novatians. Jerome often intimates that the prevailing opinion in the Latin Church concerning it was, that it was not Pauline or apostolic; and so also does Augustine. He as well as Jerome often intimates his uncertainty as to the apostolic authorship of the epistle. Still it appears that in the West the epistle gradually won canonical rank, because theologians, and especially Jerome, were influenced in reference to it by the judgment of the writers of the Greek Church. Its canonical rank was, moreover, formally sanctioned by the decrees of councils and the letters of the Roman bishops. Already in the list of the Council of Hippo Regius, A.D. 393, it was named as Pauline, though placed separately from the other epistles of St. Paul; for at first thirteen epistles are expressly attributed to the apostle, and then the Epistle to the Hebrews is named as Pauline (*Pauli apostoli epistolæ tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos una*),—a proof that it was not usual in the Western Church to include it as a matter of course among the Pauline Epistles. In the letter of Innocent it is named thus: *Pauli apostoli epistolæ quatuordecim;* and thus also in Rufinus. Still, as in earlier times, it was usual in the Latin Church to give the number of Churches to whom St. Paul wrote as *seven*, just as the epistles in the Revelation are addressed to the

seven Churches of Asia; and thus the Epistle to the Hebrews was left out (Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians). Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (*ob.* 258), who never quotes this epistle, lays stress upon this number seven (*adv. Jud.* i. 20): *unde et Paulus septem ecclesiis scribit, et Apocalypsis ecclesias septem ponit, ut servetur septenarius numerus;* and so likewise in the Canon in Muratori: . . *cum* (*cur?*) *ipse beatus Paulus sequens prædecessoris sui Johannis ordinem nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat.*[1] This number seven was willingly kept to; for Jerome says, *Ep. ad Paulinum: Paulus apostolus ad septem scribit ecclesias; octava enim ad Hebræos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur* [cf. *De viris illust.* 5]. Thus, too, the number of these Churches is given as seven by later writers, who do not expressly exclude the Epistle to the Hebrews from St. Paul's writings: for the sake of retaining the supposed mystical number *seven*, they are wont to count the Epistle to the Hebrews separately. This, however, did not prevent its being ranked as of equal authority with the rest, as was usually done in the Western Church from the fourth century downwards.

§ 251.

Besides the strictly canonical books, Rufinus recognises a second class, which he says were called by those before him *libri ecclesiastici*, and answered to the books to be read named in Athanasius and the Synopsis. He includes in this class the O. T. Apocrypha; and of Christian writings, among others, the *Shepherd* of Hermas. From these, again, he distinguished the apocryphal works, *quas in ecclesiis legi* (*patres*) *noluerunt.* We find the same distinction in Jerome also. He uses the term *ecclesiasticus*, indeed, as synonymous with *canonicus;* and he understands the word *Apocrypha* in a milder sense (see § 239), and reckons the *Shepherd* of Hermas side by side with the Apocrypha of the O. T. [Thus in the *Prolog. galeat.* (see *Einl. ins A. T.* 2d ed. § 311).

[1] [Also in a recension of the *Decretum Gelasii* (in CREDNER, *Gesch. des neutest. Kanon*, p. 288), *thirteen* Pauline Epistles are named.]

De viris ill.: . . . libri qui appellatur PASTOR, *et apud quasdam Græciæ ecclesias etiam publice legitur. Revera utilis liber, multique de eo scriptorum veterum usurpaverunt testimonia; sed apud Latinos pæne ignotus est. Comm. in Hos.* c. 7: . . . *in libro* PASTORIS, *si cui tamen placet illius recipere lectionem. De viris ill.:* BARNABAS . . . *unam ad ædificationem ecclesiæ pertinentem epistolam composuit, quæ inter apocryphas scripturas legitur.* Jerome often quotes the Epistle of Clement of Rome side by side with passages from the canonical books; cf. what is said concerning this epistle, *De vir. ill.: in nonnullis locis publice legitur.*]

In none of the lists referred to, however, is any book named as canonical which we do not now find in the N. T. This is the case in the lists of the Western equally with those of the Eastern Church; and we never find the works of the apostolic Fathers or the apocryphal books of the N. T. quoted by any Fathers in the Latin Church of this period as canonical and apostolic writings. In Jerome's time many objected to the small Epistle to Philemon, on the ground that its contents are so unimportant (see § 166). Their objections, however, seem to have had but little influence upon subsequent opinions; for we find that this epistle, in common with all the extant writings of St. Paul, was given full canonical rank.

§ 252.

There remains to be named the division of the entire Bible, O. and N. T., made by the African bishop JUNILIUS about the middle of the sixth century (*De partibus divinæ legis*, i. 4), and which was quite at variance with the views prevailing at the time in the Latin Church.[1] He divides the books into three classes:—I. *Canonical Books, qui perfectæ auctoritatis sunt.* These are: (*a*) 17 historical books, among which are reckoned the four Gospels and the Acts; (*b*) 17 prophetical books (16 prophets of the O. T., and the Psalms); (*c*) Moral maxims (Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus); (*d*) Doctrinal writings, viz. Ecclesiastes, the Pauline Epistles

[1] His classification coincides with that of EUSEBIUS as far as the N. T. is concerned.

(among which the Epistle to the Hebrews is expressly named, but only one Epistle to Timothy, which, however, embraces our two), 1st John, and 1st Peter. II. *Books of doubtful authority*, among which of prophetical writings, the Apocalypse, as much suspected by the Eastern Church; and of doctrinal writings, the Epistles of James, Jude, 2d Peter, 2d and 3d John. III. *Books of no religious authority whatever*, of which he gives no instances.

He himself informs us that he received his statements from a Persian, Paulus by name, who had been brought up in the school at Nisibis. But his classification had no abiding influence upon the practice of the Western Church. Here, as in the Greek Church, from the fifth century downwards, the same Christian writings, and they alone, were regarded as canonical, which we now find in our N. T. collection. With them the N. T. Canon was regarded as closed, and this Canon was thenceforward the same both in the Western and in the Eastern Churches.[1]

§ 253.

We meet with one exception, however, in the Syrian Churches, where the Peshito was regarded as presenting the authorized Canon by the Jacobites as well as the Nestorians. Five books of our Canon are omitted in the Peshito, viz. the Apocalypse, the Epistle of Jude, 2d Peter, 2d and 3d John; and these seem never to have been regarded in the Syrian Churches as strictly canonical, though they are used by some writers among them, *e.g.* Ephrem Syrus, and others, side by side with the other canonical books. In a list of Syrian works which we have in Ebed Jesu, metropolitan of Armenia (*ob.* 1318), reprinted in *Assemani Biblioth. orient.* iii. 1, pp. 1–362, the Canon of the N. T. is given, and those four

[1] [The apocryphal *Epistle to the Laodiceans* (§ 188) is found among the Pauline Epistles in several MSS. of the Vulgate, and translations of this into other languages during the middle age (cf. ANGER, *Laodic. Br.* p. 143 sq.; HODY, *de bibl. text. orig.* p. 664); and it is cited by some, *e.g.* ELFRIKE (in CREDNER, *Gesch. d. neutest. Kanon*, p. 307), JOHN of Salisbury, and others, as the fifteenth Pauline epistle.—B.]

epistles, together with the Apocalypse, are left out; and we find the same omission in the copy of the N. T. which the priest Moses v. Mardin brought from Mesopotamia in the year 1552, when he was sent by the Jacobite patriarch Ignatius to Pope Julius III., and revised the first printed edition of the Peshito.

§ 254.

The revival of a more earnest and independent study of Holy Scripture at the time of the Reformation led to a more thorough and searching investigation of generally received views concerning not only the origin, but also the canonical rank and value, of the several books of the N. T.; and this was carried on partly by a recurrence to the judgment of the earlier Fathers. The first who directed special attention to the differences in the N. T. books with respect to their canonical rank was Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt. He did so in two works: (*a*) *De canonicis scriptiuris libellus*, Wittenb. 1520, 4to; (*b*) *Welche Bücher heilig und biblisch seind*, Wittenberg 1520, 4to, a German edition of the first-named book, compiled by Karlstadt himself. The Latin work is reprinted in Credner's *Gesch. des Kanons*, pp. 316–412. He divides the books of the O. and N. T. into three classes, according to their rank and the esteem in which they were held. The books of the O. T. he divides into the three parts of the Hebrew Canon—the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa; and he arranges the N. T. books parallel with these,—the four Gospels, together with the Acts,[1] forming the first class, and corresponding with the Pentateuch; the thirteen Pauline Epistles, 1st John, and 1st Peter, forming the second class, and corresponding with the Nebiim; the five remaining general epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, forming the third class, and corresponding with the Kethubim.

Karlstadt's classification did not meet with much accept-

[1] In the Latin work, the Acts of the Apostles is not named in the classification. [KARLSTADT reckoned it with the Gospel of St. Luke, as appears in p. 396 (ed. CREDNER).]

ance. LUTHER'S judgment concerning some of the N. T. books—viz. the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of James and Jude, and the Apocalypse—exerted a far more powerful influence. He held that these books were not of equal rank and dignity with the other parts of the N. T., partly on account of their doubtful origin, and partly, and indeed mainly, on account of their contents, which were, he held, in some particulars utterly objectionable. Accordingly he placed these four books at the end of his translation; so that the Epistle to the Hebrews is separated from the Pauline Epistles, and the Epistles of James and Jude from the other general epistles. In reference to these books he says, in his preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews: "Thus far we have had before us the well-established and main books of the N. T. The four which here follow have long since held a lower rank." Of the Epistle to the Hebrews in particular, he considers that its author was a disciple of the apostles, a very learned man, whose work deserves fully to be esteemed, "though there is a mixture in it of wood, hay, stubble, and it cannot be ranked side by side with the apostolic epistles." He describes the Epistle of Jude as a valuable epistle, but says that it is unnecessary to reckon it among the main books which form the basis of the faith; for the ancients rejected it from the main body of Scripture, the writer being only a disciple of the apostles, and appealing to proverbs and histories which are not to be found in holy writ. Still stronger is his language with reference to the Epistle of James, both in his general preface to the N. T. 1524, where he calls it "an epistle of straw, which has nothing of the gospel in it," and in his preface to the Epistles of James and Jude. Though he allows that the epistle has some value, he will not reckon it among the genuine and main books, nor allow it to be the work of any apostle, because, "in opposition to Paul and the rest of Scripture," it preaches the doctrine of justification by works, and not the sufficiency of Christ. "This," he says, "is the true touchstone of the N. T. books, Do they set forth Christ?" "What does not teach Christ is not apostolic, whether it be the work of a Peter or a Paul. What does

preach Christ is apostolic, though the work of a Judas, an Annas, a Pilate, or a Herod." His severest judgment is reserved for the Apocalypse, which we find in the preface to the book, in the first edition of his German N. T. (see § 230).

This judgment of Luther's exerted no small influence upon the current of opinion in the Lutheran Church for a long time. Those four books have remained in the place which Luther had assigned them, at the very end, in the editions of Luther's Bible, published under the direction and care of the Lutheran Church, down to the present day; and those very prefaces of Luther's from which we have quoted have usually been printed, and even in many modern editions. In the list of books, moreover, prefixed to the N. T., as in Luther's first edition, the difference between those last four and the rest is marked; so that the first twenty-three books only are numbered, and after a little space the four others follow without any number, as if to show that they are not to be reckoned on a par with the rest. Somewhat later it was usual among Lutheran theologians to add to these four books the three others which Eusebius reckons among the Antilegomena—2d Peter, 2d and 3d John—separating these also from the strictly canonical books, and designating them the Apocrypha of the N. T.,—using this term, as Augustine and Jerome use it, to denote writings whose origin is doubtful and not sufficiently established; so that while they are useful for reading and edification, they cannot be admitted as standards of Christian doctrine. The first who gave these seven books the name of the N. T. Apocrypha was Martin Chemnitz, in his classical work, *Examen concilii Tridentini* (first published in 1565–73). His words are: *Est autem certissimum et manifestissimum, veteris ecclesiæ hanc esse testificationem, quod ex illis libris* (viz. the books of the N. T.) *quidam sint in canone, quidam non in canone, sed sint* APOCRYPHI, *sicut Hieronymus solet loqui, quod idem est, quædam ex illis scriptis esse legitima et quæ sine contradictione certa et consentientia suæ auctoritatis testimonia habeant ab universa prima et veteri ecclesia, de quibusdam vero dubitatam fuisse propterea, quod propter quorundam*

contradictionem non habuerint satis certa, firma et consentientia primæ et veteris ecclesiæ testimonia de sua auctoritate. Nullum igitur dogma ex istis libris extrui debet, quod non habet certa et manifesta fundamenta et testimonia in aliis canonicis libris.

Many of the most distinguished Lutheran theologians of the age adopted this judgment of Chemnitz; and the distinction thus drawn was univerally recognised by the Wittenberg theologians of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries: it was also advocated by many of the Lutheran theologians of south Germany (see my *Einl. in d. Hebr.-Br.* pp. 449-460). In some Low German editions of Luther's Bible we find these books—the four only which Luther excluded—printed in the opening table, and separated from the rest with the title *Apocryphen.*

§ 255.

Neither the Reformed nor the Roman Catholic Church adopted this division of the N. T. books into two classes of different rank. At the time of the Reformation, indeed, many very learned Roman Catholic theologians put forth opinions concerning some of the N. T. books, the Antilegomena of Eusebius, different from the received view. Among these was Erasmus, and after him Cajetan. Still Erasmus would not allow that his opinions affected the canonical value of the books; but Cajetan, who adopted his doubts as to the canonical value of the Epistle to the Hebrews, experienced great opposition from other theologians of his Church. The Council of Trent, at its fourth sitting (8th April 1546), pronounced an anathema "upon all who do not receive the books of the O. and N. T."—they were here enumerated —"as they are wont to be read in the Catholic Church, and are contained in the Vulgate, as holy and canonical." In the deliberations upon this subject, their proposals were rejected who wished to divide the books into two classes,—to put in one class those which had always been recognised, and in the other the rest, whose canonicity had been matter of doubt and objection; and it was decided to put all the books, without distinction, in one and the same class. As

to the Reformed Church, ZWINGLI, in the Conference on Religion at Berne 1528, when some one on the Roman Catholic side quoted a passage from the Revelation, rejected the testimony of the book, on the ground that it was not holy Scripture; and he, as well as Œcolampadius, asserted the right of distinguishing between the several books of the Bible, so as that those which were not universally received in the early Church were not to be regarded as authoritative in matters of faith: and this is maintained by Œcolampadius in his letter to the Waldenses, 1530.[1] Still this had no effect upon the subsequent judgment and practice of the Reformed Church. CALVIN, though he attributed the Epistle to the Hebrews merely to a disciple of the apostles, nevertheless gives it a place among the apostolic writings, and calls it a device of Satan that any should deny the book this rank and regard. The Reformed Church, accordingly, has never recognised the distinction of two classes among the N. T. books. In the O. T., indeed, it distinguishes the Apocrypha from the canonical books, but all the books of the N. T. are regarded, without distinction, as of equal canonical rank. This is in keeping with the stiffer and more absolute idea of what holy Scripture is, at least as regards the N. T., prevailing in the Reformed Church in comparison with the Lutheran.

§ 256.

But even in the Lutheran Church, soon after the first decade of the seventeenth century, the distinguishing of two classes of different rank among the N. T. books gradually disappeared. John Gerhard, indeed (*ob.* 1637), in his *Loci theol.* ii. (*Exegesis seu uberior expositio articuli de scriptura sacra*, first published in 1625), recognises a distinction in the

[1] Tametsi Apocalypsin cum epp. Jac. et Judæ et ultima Petri et duabus posterioribus Joannis non cum ceteris conferamus. [MUSCULUS, *Loci comm. theol.*, says of the Antilegomena: *Non pronunciam, sint ne eorum, sub quorum nomine extant, vel secus. Judicia tamen veterum efficiunt, ut minus sine illis quam ceteris scripturis adstrictus.* Cf. HOLTZMANN, *Canon u. Tradition*, 1859, p. 153 sq.]

fact that some books had met with opposition in the early Church; but he would call these, not apocryphal, but *canonicos libros secundi ordinis*;[1] and thus, or as *libros deutero-canonicos*, later Lutheran theologians would have them named, as, *e.g.*, Calovius, Quenstedt, Baier. By this title they would intimate, that though doubts concerning the origin and authority of these books had been entertained, these doubts had been set aside, and the books were not to be ranked beneath the other N. T. books. Thus by degrees it came to pass, that any distinction of rank among the N. T. books ceased to be made.

The idea again became general in the Lutheran Church which had prevailed in the Church at large from the fifth century to the Reformation, that the N. T. Canon had been fixed as we now have it in the apostolic age, and that it had remained unaltered ever since. That notion, in particular, was entertained which we find in Photius (*Biblioth. Cod.* 254), that the Apostle John arranged and established the N. T. Canon, and closed it with the Apocalypse. Somewhat later, R. Simon, in his *Krit. Geschichte des Textes des N. T.*, again pointed out the conflicting opinions and doubts concerning some of the N. T. books which prevailed in the ancient Church. Still this did not at once awaken further inquiry as to the nature of the Canon, and the correctness of viewing all the several books of our N. T. as alike canonical. We find such investigations in the Protestant Church of Germany beginning to be made in the latter part of last century, especially by Semler, on occasion of the discussion which arose concerning the genuineness and authority of the Apocalypse, when Semler published (1769) the posthumous work of Oeder.[2] Semler himself claimed for all Christians,

[1] [*Canonici libri primi ordinis sunt, de quorum vel* AUCTORIBUS *vel* AUCTORITATE *nunquam fuit in ecclesia dubitatum, sed consentiente omnium suffragio pro canonicis et divinis semper fuerunt habiti. . . . Canonici libri secundi ordinis sunt, de quorum* AUCTORIBUS *a quibusdam in ecclesia aliquando fuit dubitatum. Non tam de auctoritate canonica, quam de* AUCTORE *librorum istorum secundario in primitiva ecclesia fuit dubitatum.*]

[2] G. L. OEDER (*ob.* 1760): *Christlich freie Untersuchung über die*

and especially for Christian teachers, the right of testing the books collected in the Bible, and of judging whether they severally have a right to their place there. He also combated the conception usually entertained concerning canonicity,—a term which was generally identified with divine inspiration. But he does not himself define clearly what canonicity means: he intimates simply that the word Canon denotes a collection of writings used for public reading, and for maintaining uniformity of teaching in the Church." His criterion of canonicity is the general usefulness of the contents; and judged by this standard, he held that many of the books of Scripture may in future be excluded. He, and those who espoused his theory, called in question the canonicity of several of the O. T. books; of the N. T. books the Apocalypse was mainly called in question, and doubts were expressed by Semler regarding the Epistle to Philemon.

Of the works which appeared in reply to Semler, the most distinguished and scholarly was that of Ch. F. Schmid (*ob.* 1778), *Historia antiqua et vindicatio canonis sacri vet. novique T.*, Leipz. 1775. The main object of this work is to prove, in answer to Semler, that all the books of our Scriptures, both Old and New Testament, were esteemed as canonical, inspired and divine, the first by the ancient Jews, and both by the early Church; moreover, that they did so on good grounds: and here he does not admit of distinctions which an unbiassed historical treatment of the subject claims.[1] J. D. Michaelis, in his *Einl. ins. N. T.*, also suggested doubts like Semler concerning the canonicity of some of the N. T. books, viz. the Apocalypse, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of James and Jude, and also the Gospels of Mark and Luke: he at least denies their inspiration.

sog. Offb. Joh. aus der nachgelassenen Handschrift eines Fränkischen Gehehrten, herausgegeben mit eigenen Anmerkk. von SEMLER, Halle 1769. See also SEMLER'S *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Kanons*, 4 parts, Halle 1771–75.

[1] Cf. *Neueste Religionsgeschichte unter der Aufsicht Hrn.* Ch. W. F. WALCH'S, part vii. (Lemgo 1779), pp. 243–344; *Nachrichten von den neuesten Streitigkeiten über den Kanon*, by DÜRR.

§ 257.

Since that time N. T. controversy has had chiefly to do with the origin, the genuineness, the integrity, and historic trustworthiness of the several books; while the question concerning their canonicity, and the conception of canonicity generally, has not indeed been wholly overlooked, but has lain in abeyance. Most theologians, not only in the Roman Catholic, but also in the Protestant Church, who recognise the genuineness of the N. T. books, and even those who regard several of them as spurious, have received the collection of these books as they lie in the Canon as a matter of course, without pausing to inquire whether and how far the several books included possess a full and equal canonical rank. This is not certainly a right method of procedure, at least for the Protestant Churches. The N. T. Canon has come down to us through ecclesiastical tradition, and it was not fixed in its present state before the beginning of the fifth century. Since that time a difference of view concerning it has prevailed in the Syrian Church (§ 253); but the other portions of the Eastern, and the whole of the Western Church, have received and maintained it since the time named in one and the same form; so that all the writings about which before there had been so much doubt, were recognised as of equal authority with those which, from the first, or at least from the middle of the second century, had been universally received in the Church. In this state, and with this promiscuous recognition, the Canon has been in subsequent centuries traditionally received. Now, for the members of the Roman Catholic Church, this tradition is, on their principles, sufficient to warrant their adopting the N. T. Canon without question, especially as it has been expressly recognised and ratified anew by the Council of Trent. But we of the Evangelical Church would not be warranted in thus receiving the traditional Canon without inquiry, unless we also regarded the decisions of the Church down to the beginning of the fifth century as of binding authority and obligation, as, for example, the Tractarians do. But this would be quite at variance with the spirit and principles of

the Evangelical Church, which, so far from attaching weight and authority to ecclesiastical tradition and development, yields no unconditional assent whatever to the ecclesiastical decisions of so late a date, but considers itself not only justified, but in duty bound to submit these decisions to the test, going back from later traditions and decisions to the earlier, and as far as possible to the primary and original. Luther, and the Lutheran Church during the first century of the Reformation, exercised this right and duty with reference to the N. T. Canon, as traditionally received through the Roman Catholic Church; and if the Lutheran Church afterwards fell back upon the tradition of the Roman Catholic Church on this subject, she did so at a time when the free development of doctrine within her pale had ceased, and her theology had itself assumed a traditional character, unless indeed we could fairly say (which we cannot) that the result of careful investigation had led her back to that view. It must certainly be regarded as a duty devolving upon the Evangelical Church of our time, vigorously to reform and develope anew both its constitution and its theology, according to its own true principles and spirit; and we must not shrink from the task of entering anew upon this weighty question, inquiring whether the books which our N. T. collection embraces may all be regarded as constituent parts of the Canon,—whether and how far the same canonical authority is to be awarded to them all,—whether any distinction of class is to be made among them, a higher and more decided canonical dignity being assigned to the one class than to the other,—and possibly whether there be any that can lay no claim whatever to this dignity.

§ 258.

Regarding these questions, I throw out here only a few hints.[1] We start with that conception of the N. T. Canon, according to which such writings only of the first age of Christianity are to be included which present in an authentic

[1] We find what follows in BLEEK's *Abhandlung* "*über die Stellung der Apokr. des A. T. im christl. Kanon*," *Stud. u. Krit.* 1853, p. 283 sqq.

manner the norm and rule to determine Christian faith and life (*normam et regulam fidei et vitæ*). All that lays claim to this must be regarded as having come from the Lord Himself. But Jesus did not leave for us anything written by Himself; and we therefore turn to His immediate disciples, who were with Him during His public ministry, were eye and ear witnesses of His works and of His discourses, of His death and of His resurrection, and to whom He gave the promise that, after His departure, He would send to them "the Holy Spirit, to guide them into all truth, and to bring all to their remembrance that they had heard from Him;" those same disciples who, after His ascension, were filled with the Spirit from on high, and whom we have every reason to regard as the reliable interpreters of the Lord, both in their testimony concerning His person, His acts, His discourses, and His death, and in the manner in which they prosecuted His work in His name and by His commission after His ascension to the right hand of God. We therefore acknowledge the canonical authority, in the first place, of those Gospels which and so far as they present to us the history of the Redeemer according to genuine apostolical tradition; and we have every reason to conclude that this holds true of the FOUR GOSPELS which our N. T. contains. There is certainly to some extent a difference of rank and authority among these. If the conclusions at which we arrived in our previous investigations are correct, only one of these four Gospels is directly apostolic—the work of the beloved and most trusty disciple; and this must hold a special place before the others, as in every respect the most trustworthy account. But we have seen how little design the Apostle John had to give us a life-picture of the Lord full and proportionate in every respect; how he gives prominence to but one side, leaving much in the background; and how he does this evidently because much was already known to his readers,—what they knew and what he omits being just what we find especially depicted in the synoptical Gospels. Thus St. John's Gospel can be understood only on the presupposition of what the Synoptics tell us; and these last,

though none of them written directly by an apostle, present to us the Gospel history according to what is really apostolic tradition. Considering all these things, we are justified in assigning to them also canonical dignity.

This conclusion cannot be affected by the circumstance that inaccuracies are traceable in the Gospels, in the several accounts they give of outward things, in matters of chronology, in the order and connection of Christ's discourses, and other minor points; for these things do not affect the essentials of Christian faith. But there are two requirements we must demand in any Gospel history not directly composed by an apostle, if it is to have canonical rank: viz. (*a*) that it belong to a time when the sources of oral apostolical tradition were not yet dried up—for a history of our Lord composed at a later time could have no normative canonical authority on this very account; and (*b*) that it contains no inaccuracies of such a kind as to distort the picture of our Lord's person, or put upon it what is foreign to it,—as we find to be the case in all the apocryphal Gospels, so far as they are known to us, even the Gospel of the Hebrews being no exception, so far as (according to the statements of Church writers) it differs from our canonical Matthew. If we compare our Synoptics with these apocryphal Gospels, we shall ever be strengthened in the conviction that, of all evangelic writings extant in the first centuries, and in use here and there in the Church, none besides St. John's Gospel contain the apostolic tradition so pure and unadulterated as do our Synoptics. While St. John's Gospel, in virtue of its *directly apostolic* authorship, presents the highest assurance of truth and certitude even in its statements concerning the outward course of our Lord's life, the various events and discourses which the Synoptics record are supported for the most part by the *coincident witness* of two or three evangelists; and the outlines and aspects of Christ's life to which they give prominence are in general no less essential (than are those of St. John's Gospel), in order perfectly to present to us the image of the Saviour. To this must be added—and it is not unimportant—that at a very early date, probably before A.D.

150, the Churches in various districts were unanimous in recognising just these three Gospels together with St. John's; so that we cannot doubt that they had received these Gospels from the still earlier Churches, and from a time bordering on the apostolic age, as more trusted and trustworthy histories than any others. Accordingly we can have no hesitation in regarding these four Gospels as constituent parts of the Canon, though, viewing each of the four by itself, we may place St. John's Gospel a step higher than any of the others.

§ 259.

The apostles were not only witnesses of the Lord's life and history; they stand forth themselves as teachers and actors, and we have to consider them in these respects. We have every reason to believe that the Person of the Redeemer was represented by them in its true form, and His discourses given by them in their true sense; and we may also reasonably conclude that they prosecuted His work according to His mind; and that when they do not actually repeat the express sayings of Christ, but appear themselves as teachers commissioned by the Lord, and according to the call received from Him, they speak and act in His Spirit. The word of an apostle had not in itself the same absolute authority as the word of the Lord, and this is stated in N. T. Scripture itself (cf. 1 Cor. vii. 10, 12, 25). But from the second century downwards the Church has rightly attributed canonical dignity to what it has received of the spoken or written words of these disciples immediately called and instructed by the Redeemer, and filled with His Spirit; and therefore allow to the apostolic writings, so far as they trustworthily present the apostles in their official activity, essentially the same canonical rank as to the Gospels. Among these apostolic writings is to be reckoned, on the one hand, the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, so far as it gives us a true picture of their labours in founding, spreading, and confirming the Churches; and, on the other hand, the GENUINE APOSTOLIC EPISTLES. Among these apostles, besides those whom Jesus called during His life on earth, and very few of whom have

left us any writings, we are to reckon in an especial manner the Apostle PAUL. He was not only called supernaturally and directly by the Lord Himself, and received His knowledge of the gospel from Him; but we find him recognised by the other apostles as one of themselves, so that they divide with him one and the same sphere and field of labour. Among the writings of apostles thus possessing canonical rank, the PAULINE EPISTLES present themselves side by side with the FIRST PETRINE EPISTLE and the EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN. Of these last, St. John's first epistle is more assured to us than the second and third, partly on account of the comparatively narrower external testimony regarding them, and partly on account of their design and contents, wherein they present less of what is for the general interests of Christendom than does the first. Of the other writings in the N. T. collection, the EPISTLES OF THE LORD'S BRETHREN come first into consideration. Though during the Lord's life they did not believe, and did not afterwards belong to the number of the apostles properly so called, we soon find them side by side with the apostles as recognised teachers in the Church; and ST. JAMES in particular held so distinguished a position, that during the lifetime of the apostles he appears as the acknowledged head of the Church at Jerusalem, and is ranked by St. Paul side by side with Peter and John as the three who were esteemed as pillars. We are accordingly justified in ranking his epistle side by side with those of the apostles, assigning to it at least the first place among the non-apostolic books; and this is confirmed by the contents of the epistle, and the spirit which breathes throughout it. If it does not belong to the writings which, before all others, are to be taken as the basis of the Christian faith, it is certainly to be numbered among those of the primitive Church, which specially and exclusively confirm that foundation; and at certain times it is specially needful to warn us against the abuse of the true evangelical doctrine of justification by faith, and to guard us against giving a onesided preponderance to this doctrine. The *Epistle of* JUDE is evidently less important, whether

we consider its author, who, though a brother of the Lord, held a much less conspicuous position in the Church, and seems himself to have felt the need of leaning upon his brother James and the apostles as authorities; or on account of its contents, especially the manner in which the writer resorts to apocryphal writings in his references to ancient history, in a way quite different from the other books of the N. T. But if we look at the kernel and gist of this epistle, we find that there runs throughout it a pure vein of primitive Christian thought, which with clear discernment separates the unevangelic disposition that was making its way in the Church from the evangelic, and reproves it with holy sternness; and in this respect it is every way fit to serve as a pattern: and we have ample reason to recognise and receive it as a canonical work of the second rank. The same holds true, if we have taken the most probable view of their origin, of *the Epistle to the* HEBREWS and the APOCALYPSE. If the first was written by Apollos, it is the work of a man who occupied so distinguished a position as a teacher in the apostolic age, as to exercise a distinct and evangelic influence of his own side by side with St. Paul, and in the same Church; and St. Paul willingly recognised him as his fellow-labourer, who watered what he had planted. Such a man, "mighty in the Scriptures," we are justified in regarding as our instructor concerning the nature of the kingdom of God, and the relation of this kingdom to the order of things which had preceded it. This is really the subject-matter of the epistle,—an epistle which, while presenting much originality, is in perfect harmony with the apostolic doctrine, so that we have only to distinguish what pertains to its form and process of argumentation, to find in it the very essence and fundamentals of our faith. The Apocalypse is not (in my view) directly an apostolic work, but is the genuine writing of a man who not only belonged to the apostolic age, but had himself heard the Lord. We therefore must number it among the canonical writings of the second rank. Its contents, apart from its authorship, forbid our placing it among the writings of the first rank.

We may indeed recognise in the book a strong Christian spirit, a living confidence in the Lord, in the power of His Spirit, and in the certainty of the final triumph of God's kingdom over the world and all hostile powers, such as is to be found only in the apostolic writings. But its prophetic character, which throughout refers to the future of the Church and of the world, prevents its having that normative and strictly canonical position in the same manner and degree as most of the other N. T. books, whether historical or doctrinal: for all prophecy has more or less of a poetic garb, and this is strikingly the case here; and it is not easy accurately to separate what is strictly dogmatic from its poetical and symbolic clothing. The Apocalypse, moreover, endeavours too exactly to define the time of the Lord's coming, and the consummation of His kingdom; and this is hardly in keeping with the expressed mind and purpose of the Lord. Consequently we can only give to this book a limited and subordinate authority. Still more is this the case with the SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER, if, as cannot be doubted, both upon external and internal grounds, it was composed by a later writer in the Apostle Peter's name. For, however innocent such a procedure is to be regarded, considering the age when the writer lived, we cannot recognise a book which had such an origin among those writings that form the norm and rule for Christian faith and life. Still the epistle may be read for practical purposes without endangering faith, because its contents are essentially in keeping with apostolic doctrine, and it is in perfect harmony both in spirit and teaching with the apostolic writings; and this was why both the Greek and the Latin Church in the fourth and fifth centuries, putting aside the doubts which heretofore had been entertained, gave the epistle a place among the canonical books. We should have to form essentially the same judgment as this concerning any of the Pauline Epistles which, we were obliged to conclude, had been composed by some later writer in St. Paul's name. The *First Epistle to Timothy* furnishes most ground for such an opinion; but this is at present by no means so surely

ascertained as to warrant our excluding it from the number of canonical writings to which it so early belonged.

§ 260.

The general result of this review, accordingly, is that there are some books among the so-called *ἀποστολικά* of the N. T. which we must regard as canonical writings of the second rank, as deutero-canonical books, and this in different degrees. Nevertheless there is no sufficient ground to warrant our excluding any of them from the N. T. collection, as constituent parts of which the great body of the Church has recognised them now for 1400 years. On the other hand, there is still less warrant for our receiving into the N. T. collection any of those other writings of Christian antiquity which we find used now and then in the early Church, and especially in the Alexandrine, as possessing Scripture authority. The only writings of this class about which there could be a question, are those of the apostolic Fathers who are mentioned in the N. T. as Christian teachers and helpers of the apostles—Barnabas, Clement of Rome (Phil. iv. 3), and Hermas (Rom. xvi. 14). Barnabas, in particular, seems to have held a prominent position in the Church. But the epistle which bears his name is probably spurious, and its contents are paltry and frivolous, so that it is quite unworthy to be placed side by side with the N. T. writings. Clement and Hermas are too little prominent as fellow-workers with the apostle, and we cannot place the same reliance in them as teachers, as, for example, in Apollos. The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians—which alone of the writings extant bearing his name is probably genuine—and *the Shepherd*, which bears the name of Hermas as its author, are alike unfit, if we consider their scope and range, together with their form, and especially the visionary character of the latter, to be regarded as constituent parts of the New Testament.

PART III.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

ACCORDING to the plan laid down at the commencement (§ 3), it now remains for us to inquire whether the Scriptures of the N. T. have in process of time, and with reference to their text, undergone any changes since they were first written, and generally since they were admitted into the Canon,—of what kind these changes are,—what materials we possess to discover them,—and what attempts have been made to re-establish the text in its most authentic form. The changes which might take place, and which indeed have taken place, are: (*a*) *changes in the outward form of the text*, in the character of the writing, the punctuation, divisions, and the like, which for the convenience of the reader might be, and indeed are retained, and which cannot be regarded as corruptions of the text; (*b*) *internal changes, which affect the sense* of what is written, or the *language* only, whether they be of greater or less importance.

HISTORY OF THE OUTWARD FORM OF THE TEXT.

§ 261.

1. We now distinguish in Greek writing two kinds of letters, capitals and small letters; the first being used only

at the beginning of a paragraph or sentence, or of proper names. The first are called *Uncial letters*, and the second *Cursive-writing*. But the ancient Greeks, and the N. T. writers generally, used only letters of the first kind, square and upright characters, not joined together. This kind of writing was retained, without material change, down to the ninth century of our era, and we find it in the oldest of our N. T. manuscripts. About this time cursive writing was gradually adopted, as quicker, more convenient, and taking up less room; and it came into general use in the tenth century. Uncial characters were still used, but only when a more costly and finer copy of any writing was desired, and almost exclusively for copies of N. T. manuscripts,—as, for instance, Codex S of the Gospels (in the Vatican Library), which, according to its postscript, was written in the year 949. But by far the majority of N. T. manuscripts since the end of the ninth century are in cursive writing. The name *unciales litteræ* (literally, "letters the size of an inch") was common in Jerome's time,[1] but was used only of large letters in very fine manuscripts, and not in distinction from another form of writing, such as our cursive writing.

§ 262.

2. The ancients, and Greek writers in particular, usually wrote without stops, and even without any intervals or spaces between the words (*scriptio continua*). Aristotle, indeed, speaks of signs of punctuation, and Aristophanes of Byzantium and Alexandria (circ. B.C. 200) reduced these to a system; and hence we find traces of punctuation in Cicero and others (cf. Jahn, *Bibl. Archæol.* i. 1, p. 477). In a grammatical work still extant, under the name of Dionysius Thrax, who must have lived at Rome under Pompey, a threefold punctuation is expressly named: (*a*) στιγμὴ τελεία,

[1] *Præf. in Jobum, fin.: Habeant, qui volunt, veteres libros vel in membranis purpureis, auro argentoque descriptos vel* UNCIALIBUS, *ut vulgo aiunt,* LITTERIS, *onera magis exarata quam codices, dummodo mihi meisque permittant pauperes habere schedulas et non tam pulchros codices quam emendatos.*

(*b*) στιγμὴ μέση, (*c*) ὑποστιγμή, — words which evidently describe three different kinds of stops. But these signs would be used mainly and almost exclusively in the schools of grammarians, and in the case of very old writings in places where the connection was doubtful or disputed, but not in any regular or systematic way by the writers themselves. Thus, with reference to the N. T. writings, we may with certainty conclude that the authors wrote and published their MSS. without divisions of words or signs of punctuation, and only indicated perhaps the beginnings of new sections. The union or separation of letters and sentences was left to the judgment of the reader. Several of our oldest MSS. of the N. T. have really no divisions of words or signs of punctuation whatever—as, for instance, the Codex Vaticanus and others. Accordingly we often meet with discussions, in works of Church writers, as to what division is to be made, with what word such and such a sentence begins or ends; but they never appeal to any old and correct MSS., wherein a division or interpunctuation made by the writers themselves has been retained. Thus, for example, there was a discussion about the true punctuation in John i. 3. Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and other Alexandrines, here take ὃ γέγονεν with what follows, thus: "What was made was life in Him," or "what was in Him was life;" and so many MSS. and editions read (as also Lachmann in his text). This division was afterwards rejected by the doctors of the Church, chiefly indeed because the passage thus read was used by the Macedonians in support of their belief that the Holy Ghost was created by the Son: thus, by Epiphanius (*Ancoratus*, 75), who takes οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ together; and by Chrysostom (*Homil. in Joann.*), who joins ὃ γέγονεν with what precedes, and begins a new clause with ἐν αὐτῷ.[1]

[1] Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν τελείαν στιγμὴν τῷ οὐδὲ ἓν ἐπιθήσομεν κατὰ τοὺς αἱρετικούς (the Macedonians). Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ βουλόμενοι τὸ πνεῦμα κτιστὸν εἰπεῖν, φασιν ὁ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ, ζωὴ ἦν . . . διὸ ταύτην ἀφέντες, ἐπὶ τὴν νενομισμένην ἔλθωμεν ἀναγνωσίν τε καὶ ἐξήγησιν· τίς δὲ ἐστιν αὕτη; τὸ μέχρι τοῦ ὃ γέγονεν ἀναπαῦσαι τὸν λόγον· εἶτα ἀπὸ τῆς ἑξῆς λέξεως ἄρξαθαι τῆς λεγούσης· ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν.

This is no doubt the right connection and reading of the words, and the one which the evangelist himself intended. But it is clear from the statements of Chrysostom, Theodoret, and others, that nothing whatever was known to them of the evangelist himself having made any division or put in any signs of a division in his MS. The absence of any spaces between the words, and of any signs of punctuation, must have made the reading of the text and the discovery of the sense very difficult, and often uncertain; and doubtless mistaken constructions would frequently be made (cf. Hug, i. § 43). It was natural that the more any one in the churches made use of the N. T. writings, the more he would feel the need of making the sense more evident by the insertion of marks. This was done by some copyists (or owners of manuscripts), first in single passages, where the true punctuation was uncertain, and of importance in deciding the sense, especially with reference to certain doctrines; as, for instance, in the *Codex Alexandrinus* and the *Codex Cantabr.* (which are written in the *scriptio continua*), John i. 3 has a point or dot after the οὐδὲ ἕν, the sign of connection adopted by the Alexandrines. This marking of the punctuation would gradually become more general and minute, and longer pauses were distinguished by a point, or by a separation of the lines: as *e.g.* in the Codex Alexandrinus a point or dot is put at the top, at the end of sentences, and occasionally at the subdivisions of sentences; but this is done merely according to the judgment of the individual copyist.

A more definite form was given to this method of punctuation in writing by EUTHALIUS, a deacon of Alexandria, who, in an edition of the Pauline Epistles prepared by him in the year 458,[1] and dedicated to the Patriarch of Alexandria, for the convenience of the private reader and prelector, adopted the plan of putting in each line just so many words as might be read successively in one breath, in order to make the words of the writer intelligible and harmonious—πρὸς εὔσημον ἀνάγνωσιν; and some ten years later he arranged in

[1] Not, as it is now usually given, 462: he himself names the year 174 of the Dioclesian era, = 458.

the same manner the Acts of the Apostles and the General Epistles.[1] In his division of the text he seems to have had respect not so much to the logical relation of the several sentences to each other as to the rhythm, pointing out by it where the reader should pause. Accordingly the several lines, called *στίχοι*—just as this method of writing is called *στιχηδὸν* or *στιχηρῶς γράφειν*, *στιχομετρία*—vary in length, and are generally smaller in the epistles than in the historical narrative of the Acts: cf. *e.g.* Acts i. 1, 2 with Tit. ii. 2, 3; De Wette, § 29, *a*, note *b*. Euthalius in this arrangement had in mind the manner in which the poetical books of the O. T. had been written. Tregelles, without sufficient ground, thinks that Euthalius found this arrangement already in the books named, and adopted it (from Pamphilus). Indeed, it is not certain whether Euthalius wrote the Gospels stichometrically himself; Tregelles thinks that the Gospels were thus written before the other books. But this does not seem at all probable, though it is certain they were thus written afterwards. This manner of writing, *στιχηρῶς*, soon became general even beyond Egypt, and we find it in several of our oldest MSS. (see Hug, § 44; ed. 4, 218, note). Afterwards, in order to save room, each of the *στίχοι* did not occupy a line; but they were separated and marked off by points, or by a larger letter at the beginning of each (see De Wette, § 29, *b*). It was usual to number the *στίχοι*, and to put the total at the end; and we find these numbers retained in many later MSS. which are not written stichometrically. In some MSS. of the Gospels we find not only the number of the *στίχοι*, but that of the *ῥήματα* also given. This cannot mean the number of the words—for the numbers are much too small—but the number of the clauses or sentences. The numbers of the *στίχοι* and of the *ῥήματα* do not differ much: that of the *ῥήματα* is commonly a little larger, but occasionally it is smaller, than that of the *στίχοι* (see R. Simon's *Krit. Schr. üb. d. N. T.*): their exact relation to each other

[1] He speaks of his arrangement in a treatise published by ZACAGNI, *Collectanea monum. vet. Eccles. Græc.*, Rome 1698, i. 403 sqq.; and GALLANDI, *Biblioth. Patrum*, x. 199 sqq.

is not clear; perhaps in the ῥήματα we have a later emendation of the division into στίχοι.

The manuscripts that have the στίχοι, whether written in separate lines or not, have no other kind of punctuation besides the στίχοι. But where the στίχοι were not adopted, a need was naturally felt of some other signs of punctuation in order to make the meaning clear, and we find varieties of these even without any clear division of words. In some MSS. a cross is used for every sort of punctuation, or two dots, one above another; in other MSS. a cross is used, like our full stop, at the end of sentences only; and others, besides the point or dot, have a stroke like our comma. Others, again, have three marks of punctuation, as was probably usual (according to the statement before referred to of Dionysius Thrax) among the Greek grammarians, and as it is expressly stated by Isidore of Spain (*ob.* 636) in his *Origen*, i. 19,[1]—the main stop at the end of a period being a point at the top (like our colon in Greek), the intermediate one (about the value of our colon) being a point in the middle, and the shortest (about the value of our comma) a point at the foot of the letter. Thus we find Codex E of the Gospels (Basiliensis) punctuated. Our present method of punctuation was perfected some time after the invention of printing, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, by Aldus and Paulus Manutius. The separation of words by means of points or intervals between the several words did not become customary before the *ninth* century.

From what has now been said, it appears that we have no external testimony whatever as to the correctness or incor-

[1] *Ubi in initio pronuntiationis necdum plena pars sensus est, et tamen respirare oportet, fit* COMMA, *id est particula sensus, punctusque ad unam literam ponitur et vocatur subdistinctio ab eo, quod punctum subtus, id est ad unam literam accipit. Ubi autem in sequentibus jam sententia sensum præstat, sed adhuc aliquid superest de sententiæ plenitudine, fit* COLON *mediamque literam puncto notamus et mediam distinctionem vocamus, qui punctum ad mediam literam ponimus. Ubi vero jam per gradus pronuntiando plenam sententiæ clausulam facimus, fit* PERIODUS, *punctumque ad caput literæ ponimus et vocatur distinctio, i.e. disjunctio, quia integram separat sententiam.*

rectness of the punctuation adopted, and the division of words made. What we find in the oldest MSS. was not the work of the authors themselves, but of their editors, the copyists, or the readers; and it simply shows us their view, their explanation of the several passages. In doubtful cases the decision as to the right punctuation and division of words must depend solely on internal considerations—the inner appropriateness or otherwise of this or that division or correction: whether, for instance, with reference to the division of words, we are to read in Phil. i. 1, *σὺν ἐπισκόποις*, or, with Chrysostom and many MSS., *συνεπισκόποις* as one word; and in Gal. i. 9, *προειρήκαμεν* or *προείρηκα μὲν*. And in like manner with reference to the punctuation.[1]

§ 263.

3. The same is true of the *accents*, the *breathings*, and of *iota subscriptum:* they certainly did not come from the pens of the N. T. writers themselves.

(*a.*) Our present system of Greek *accentuation* is attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium (B.C. 200); but for a long time it was only used in the schools of grammarians, and applied to the writings of the classic authors, though these authors themselves had not used them; nor certainly had they been used by the N. T. writers. Epiphanius[2] informs us that in his day the Greek translation of the O. T. books had by some been accentuated,—as he expresses it, *στίζειν κατὰ προσωδίαν*; and this was probably done at the same time by some copyists of the N. T. books. We know regarding Euthalius,[3] that in his stichometric edition of the Acts and the General Epistles he added the accents. We find the accents likewise in some of the oldest MSS. of the

[1] Cf. *ROGALL, *Diss. de auctoritate et antiquitate interpunctionis in N. T.*, Königsberg 1734, 4to.

[2] *De ponder. et mensur.* c. ii.: Ἐπειδή δέ τινες κατὰ προσωδίαν ἔστιξαν τὰς γραφάς, καὶ περὶ τῶν προσωδῶν τάδε· ὀξεῖά (ʹ), βαρεῖα (ˋ), περισπωμένη (ˆ), κ.τ.λ.

[3] P. 201 in GALLANDI: Τήν τε τῶν πράξεων βίβλον ἅμα καὶ καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀναγνῶνται κατὰ προσωδίαν . . . προσέταξας, ἀδελφὲ Ἀθανάσιε.

N. T.; but they are wanting in other very old MSS., and they did not come into general use before the tenth century.

(*b.*) The *spiritus asper* was in ancient Greek written as a distinct letter *H* (whence the Latin *H*): thus we find it on ancient monuments (*e.g.* *HOI* = *οἱ*), but never in manuscripts. Aristophanes of Byzantium introduced the sign ⊢ for the *spiritus asper*, and a corresponding sign ⊣ for the *spiritus lenis* (the two halves of the letter *H*); and from these, which we find in the Codex Vaticanus, the present signs have been developed. But in several of the oldest MSS. we find no accents; and it is very probable that the N. T. writers themselves did not use them, not certainly with any system or constancy.

(*c.*) The *iota subscriptum* was anciently written as a separate letter following the vowel, *e.g.* *ΤΤΧΗΙ*, *ΟΔΩΙ*, and thus it is found in old inscriptions; but it is often omitted even in the oldest. It gradually fell into disuse, and is not met with in the oldest MSS. of the N. T.; but it again makes its appearance in cursive writing, where it is *subscriptum*,—this *iota subscriptum* having become usual only in cursive writing. We have every reason to conclude that the N. T. writers in their autographs used neither the *iota postscriptum* nor the *iota subscriptum*. If this be correct, it follows that we cannot decide from manuscripts or other external witnesses whether, for example, we are to read *αὕτη*, or *αὐτή*, or *αὐτῇ*: this must be inferred from the connection.[1]

§ 264.

4. The divisions of our N. T. books into *chapters* and *verses* were not the work of the first writers, and those we now have are comparatively of late origin. The writers of our Gospels and Epistles certainly did not make any such divisions as our verses, any more than do other prose writers in ancient or modern times divide their writings into short portions. We cannot tell whether any main sections and divisions were marked by beginning a new line, or by a short

[1] [See SCRIVENER, *Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.*, pp. 38–42.—TR.]

interval, or the like; but it is certain this was not done in such a manner by them, that any special importance was attached to it so as to retain it unchanged. Nor can such divisions be regarded as connected with the integrity of the text: the writers did not certainly designate or reckon such sections with numbers. But it was natural, when these writings came to be reverenced in the Church, and to be regularly read and commented upon, that the several sections of any book should be distinguished and marked off by some special signs. This was probably done as early as the second century. Tertullian often speaks of the chapters of a book, *e.g.* of the Gospel of St. John, or of 1st Corinthians: see *ad uxorem*, ii. 2: *numquid, inquam, de illo capitulo sibi blandiuntur primæ ad Corinthios, ubi scriptum est: si quis frater infidelem habet uxorem;* again, *de pudic.* 16; *de carne Christi*, 19. Dionysius of Alexandria (in Euseb. vii. 25) says that some had examined the Apocalypse "chapter by chapter" (*καθ' ἕκαστον κεφάλαιον*). Probably these were not, as some think (De Wette, Tregelles), merely fanciful divisions, which each reader made as he liked, but that they had been distinct sections in the manuscripts, and were now made more marked and observable. Still the copyists adopted these in a very loose manner, not considering themselves bound to any division which they found ready to their hand. Fixed divisions are not traceable till later, though we find them long before our division into chapters. The following points, however, are here to be observed:—

(*a.*) A division of the Gospels into small sections or paragraphs, called distinctively *κεφάλεια*, and much smaller than our chapters,[1] became very common and widely spread. They are called the *Ammonian* or *Ammonian-Eusebian sections*. Ammonius of Alexandria, about the middle of the third century, made a Harmony of the Gospels,—*τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον*, as Eusebius calls it in a letter to Carpianus. His

[1] In Matthew there are 355, in Mark 234, in Luke 342, in John 231—making in all, 1162. This is the number given by CÆSARIUS (a brother of Gregory Nazianzen), *Dial.* i. 39, and by EPIPHANIUS, *Ancor.* 50, p. 54; and the MSS. which have these sections marked tally with this.

plan was this. He took St. Matthew's Gospel as his standard, and placed the corresponding narratives of the other three evangelists side by side with it, probably inserting those which do not occur in Matthew. In order to improve this arrangement, Eusebius added his ten so-called *canons*, which gave lists of the several κεφάλαια, corresponding to each other in the several Gospels: in the first canon he gives those chapters which all four evangelists have in common; in the second, those in which Matthew, Mark, and Luke agree; in the third, those which Matthew, Luke, and John have, and so on; in the ninth, those which Luke and Mark only have; and in the tenth, those which occur in one only of the evangelists. The chapters are numbered separately in each Gospel, according to the order in which they occur, *i.e.* in Matthew from 1 to 355; and so in the other three, from 1 onwards, just as they are placed in each. Whether these numbers are derived from Ammonins—he having introduced them before he completed his Harmony, and made them the basis thereof—or whether Eusebius himself introduced them (as Wetstein, *Prolegg.* p. 69, thinks), cannot now with certainty be told. In both the Greek and the Latin manuscripts these chapters are marked with their appropriate numbers, and beneath the number of the chapter is written the number of the canon to which it belongs. For example, Matt. i. 19 sqq. is marked thus, $\frac{\Delta}{I}$, Δ being the number of the section (4) of Matthew, and I (ten) the number of the canon,—thus intimating that the section is to be found only in this Gospel. Again, Mark i. 7, 8, is marked $\frac{\Delta}{A}$, *i.e.* the 4th section of Mark belonging to the first canon, = a section for which we have parallels in the other three Gospels. This plan both of the sections and of the canons is adopted in many old editions of the Greek text, and of the Latin version of the Gospels.[1]

(*b.*) At a later date we find, together with these Ammonian-

[1] Also in the Greek text of MATTHÆI's small edition, in TISCHENDORF's ed. 7, *crit. maj.*; and for the Vulgate, in LACHMANN's larger edition.

Eusebian sections, another division of the Gospels into larger sections called τίτλοι, and so called, doubtless, because it was usual to put before each of these larger sections a summary of contents, or *titulum*. The Latins called these sections *breves*, and the summaries of contents *breviaria*. The inventor of these divisions is not known, but they do not seem to have been in use much before the fifth century. We find them used only in Euthymius and Theophylact, and they appear in the manuscripts side by side with the sections. Their number (as Suidas, *s.v.*, tells us, and the MSS. of the Gospels agree with his statement) was 68 in St. Matthew, 48 in St. Mark, 83 in St. Luke, 18 in St. John. Thus they are totally different from the κεφάλαια, and more closely resemble our chapters; but, excepting in St. John, they are much smaller.

(*c.*) As to the other N. T. books, we know that Euthalius prefixed τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων ἔκθεσιν, which he had already met with in the Pauline Epistles, to his stichometric edition of the Acts and the Epistles.[1] He himself completes this ἔκθεσιν, *i.e.* a table of contents of the several κεφάλαια, in the Acts and General Epistles; and thus the κεφάλαια must have been already in use as recognised sections. Still we know not when or by whom they were introduced. In the edition of Euthalius they are numbered with letters. These numbers are (see De Wette, § 30, *c*, note *a*): in the Acts, forty chapters; Romans, nineteen; 1st Corinthians, nine; Galatians, twelve; 1st John, seven; 1st Timothy, eighteen. They varied greatly in length in the several books, but were generally smaller than our chapters, and only occasionally larger. Lists like these, which in Latin are called *capitulationes*, were afterwards usually put at the end of the manuscripts. Euthalius also speaks of smaller sub-sections (ὑποδιαιρέσεις) which he had marked with asterisks.

(*d.*) The Apocalypse was divided by Andreas bishop of Cæsarea (in Cappadocia) into 24 λόγοι and 72 κεφάλαια.

(*e.*) Our present division into chapters probably dates from

[1] . . . ἐνὶ τῶν σοφωτάτων τινὶ καὶ Φιλοχρίστῳ πατέρων ἡμῶν πεπονημένην. This leads us to think of THEODORE of Mopsuestia, but we cannot be certain.

the thirteenth century, and is due to Cardinal HUGO *Carensis* (*a sancto Caro*, St. Cher, *ob.* 1263). He made this division for both the O. and N. T. (see *Einleitung i. A. T.* § 334) in his Latin collection of sermons, in order that he might with more readiness refer to the several passages in a Concordance of the Vulgate. This new division soon obtained a footing in the Western Church, and before the end of the thirteenth century other theologians began to use it in their citations. It was transferred from the Vulgate to the original text, but not probably before the middle of the fifteenth century (cf. Tregelles, p. 33). We find it in the first printed editions of the N. T., and in all subsequent ones.

(*f.*) Our verse divisions were made by ROBERT STEPHENS in 1551. Hugo had, indeed, divided his chapters into subsections longer than our verses, which he marked with Roman capitals—A, B, C, D, E, F, G; but these were not adopted in the printed editions. Still the need of a more exact system of reference was felt, and smaller sections were adopted. Paginus, in his new Latin version of the Bible in 1528, divided the chapters of the N. T. into verses, which he numbered; but these were longer than our present verses, which must be traced to Robert Stephens (Etienne), made by him when he was persecuted by the doctors of the Sorbonne in Paris (1550) and fled to Genf. He made them during his journey from Paris to Lyons (*inter equitandum*). We accordingly find our verses in the fourth edition of Stephens' N. T. 1551; and they soon were generally adopted in the Roman Catholic as well as in the evangelical Churches, in the original Greek text, and in the various versions. Stephens says, in the preface to that 1551 edition of the N. T., that in this arrangement he had followed in the main the divisions traceable in the oldest Greek and Latin MSS., evidently referring to the old *stichoi;* but it is clear, from the way in which he expresses himself, that his main purpose in this remark is to meet the objections which might be urged against his scheme on the ground of its novelty.

(*g.*) It is evident from what has now been advanced, that these various divisions of the sacred text cannot be regarded

as *authoritatively binding* upon us. They were not made by the original writers of the books, but long afterwards, and by individuals whose method of dividing Scripture into larger and smaller portions was afterwards generally adopted. As Scripture is at present used, these divisions into chapters and verses are very convenient, and it would not be wise to alter them. Still it cannot be denied that, in many instances, they do not correspond with the sense. But though they may not be trusted always in exposition, and though no special weight can be attached to them, it has become general in many editions even of the N. T. to distinguish not only the chapters, but even the verses, by making each a distinct paragraph beginning on a new line. This is quite inappropriate, for the several verses by no means contain, each of them, a distinct thought. Expositors can no more regard these divisions into chapters and verses as of binding authority, than they can thus regard the ordinary punctuation.

§ 265.

5. The divisions of the text which we have been describing are different from those defined for the Church's guidance in public reading of the Scriptures, and which have now become the Lessons or περικοπαί of the Church. There can be no doubt that comparatively early, when the writings of the N. T. had obtained a settled esteem and authority, they were used side by side with the O. T. books in the public lessons of the Church for edification and instruction. For a long time they were wont to be read before the congregations in sections selected at will. Certain passages were fixed only for the festival days; *e.g.* at Easter, the account of the resurrection given in the Gospels, the narratives of the several evangelists being read on successive days. The history of the crucifixion was read only on one day, and then the narrative of Matthew's Gospel was chosen. During the interval between Easter and Whitsuntide the book of the Acts was read in many places; in the churches of Gaul and Spain the Apocalypse was also read during those weeks. Euthalius himself tells us that, in his stichometric edition, the Acts and

Epistles were divided into as many sections as there were Sundays in the year, including the main festival days, *i.e.* into 57 sections; and each of these sections was as long as from three to five of our chapters (see De Wette, § 31, *a*, note *b*). Euthalius seems to have himself made this division. About this time it was usual not to divide all the N. T. books into these *ἀναγνώσεις*, but simply to select portions like the הפטרה among the Jews, which were lessons for reading selected from the prophetical books of the O. T. These portions were selected for every Sunday and festival day,—one from the Gospels, and another from the Epistles. This was the custom in the Western Church even from the middle of the fifth century. Claudius Mamercus prepared a Lectionary of this kind for the Gallic Church in the year 450, and Musæus in 458 for the Church at Marseilles. Similar Lectionaries were used in the Greek Church from the eighth century downwards, from the time of Johannus Damascenus. This was the origin of our *περικοπαί* or Church Lessons, the history of which is very obscure, but belongs to the department of practical theology.[1] These Church Lessons were collectively written in separate books—*ἐκλογάδιον*, *lectionarium*; those containing the selections from the Gospels *evangeliarium* or *evangelistarium*, and those from the Epistles *epistolare* or (especially those from St. Paul's Epistles) *ἀπόστολος*, and those from the Book of the Acts *πραξαπόστολος*. The beginnings and endings of these Lessons are marked in some complete manuscripts of the N. T., and in various printed editions of the Greek N. T., *e.g.* in both of those by Matthäi.

§ 266.

6. As to the *titles* or *superscriptions* usually prefixed in the manuscripts and printed copies of the N. T. books, we have already spoken of them as far as the Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles to the Hebrews, and the Ephesians are concerned. As we have seen in the case of these books, so also

[1] See especially E. RANKE, *Das Kirchliche Perikopensystem*, etc., Berlin 1847; and his article *Perikopen*, in HERZOG'S *Real-Encyklop.* vol. xi.

do we find it with the rest, viz. that these titles have not come to us from the writers of the books; and this indeed is clear from the form and character of the titles, *e.g.* "the First" or "the Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians;" "the First, Second, Third Epistle of St. John," etc. They differ likewise in different MSS. in some verbal points, but not materially; and they correspond with the earliest ecclesiastical traditions concerning them. Besides these titles or superscriptions, many manuscripts have *postscripts* appended to the several books; but these vary greatly. They sometimes name the author of the foregoing treatise, or simply say that this is the end of the work, or specify the time and place of writing, as *e.g.* in the Pauline Epistles, where the person who conveys the epistle is sometimes named. These postscripts, as is universally allowed, are the work of later copyists. They are almost all wanting in the oldest MSS.; and where they do occur, they are simpler in the older than in the later. The most frequent are those which Euthalius gives in his stichometric edition; and these are for the most part adopted into the earlier printed editions of the N. T., though they are generally allowed to be erroneous: *e.g.*, the Epistle to the Galatians is described as written from Rome, and 1st Thessalonians from Athens. Modern critical editions of the N. T. rightly omit them.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

§ 267.

The question which we have here to consider is, whether the text of the N. T. books has been handed down to us from the time when it was first written unfalsified; or whether it has, in the course of time, undergone changes over and above those additions and divisions which we have hitherto considered, and which were in part connected with their authorship—changes that have affected the words, and even the sense. The earliest printed copies of the Greek

Testament (in the year 1514 et sqq.) present many variations, but these are not in general very important or material. The same may be said of subsequent editions, wherein the text gradually became more settled and uniform, until, in the latter part of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, its form became quite fixed and stereotyped as the *textus receptus*. This received text was regarded with such reverence, and as possessing such high authority, that any departure from it was considered objectionable and wrong. Indeed, it was by many taken for granted that this *textus receptus* was the only true one; and its authority as a standard was extended to the division of words, the punctuation, the breathings and accents which it presented. After the middle of the seventeenth century, the learned English theologians Walton, Fell, and afterwards Mill (1707), compiled a very copious *apparatus criticus*, by comparing the received text with Greek MSS. of the N. T. and other witnesses; but they did not venture to alter or amend the text in their editions of it. BENGEL (1734) was the first to publish a text differing in many places from the *textus receptus;* but even he did not venture to adopt readings which were not found in earlier editions. This was not done until much later, and by the German scholars GRIESBACH, MATTHÆI, LACHMANN, SCHOLZ, TISCHENDORF, and others. The several versions of the N. T. text which these scholars give, not only differ more or less from the previous received text, but present many differences when compared with each other. In our day, therefore, there is no such general certainty entertained as formerly with reference to the *textus receptus;* the certainty and authority attributed thereto having been merely chimerical and imaginary. With many different editions of the text before him, containing a multitude of various readings that more or less affect the sense, the student of Scripture has now, in the first place, to inquire what is the bearing of these upon each other, and what is the true and original reading in each particular case. The questions therefore arise, How is he to find this out? and what are those original testimonies which he is to appeal

to for the N. T. text? It would be a very simple matter if we had the original documents or autographs of the several books, as each came from the pen of its author. But this, as every one knows, is not the case: we have not even a trace in the early centuries of the Church's history that any such originals were extant and acknowledged (cf. De Wette, § 27). Had such originals existed in the time of such Fathers as Tertullian and Origen, these writers would not fail to have appealed to the autograph copies in their controversies with heretics, *e.g.* with the Marcionites concerning the true text of certain N. T. passages. We may take it as certain that those autographs had already been lost, and no longer were extant at the time when the N. T. Canon was closed. By constant use, and on account of the copies made, the originals must have been worn out and laid aside; and new, cleaner copies supplanted them even in the places to which they had primarily been sent: for there was not sufficient importance and sanctity attached at the outset to the originals, to lead to their preservation as standards of comparison and appeal by which to test and correct the later MSS. The epistles and the other N. T. writings were circulated far and wide by means of copies, and copies of copies, more or less directly connected with the primary autographs. Seeing, then, that we possess no more express and certain witnesses of this primary and autograph text, we must endeavour to find out what the text was, tracing it as far back towards the originals as we can. We must arrive at a conclusion as to the truest text by a consideration of these testimonies. They are: (A) the *Greek* MSS. which have come down to us; (B) the *ancient versions;* and (C) the *testimonies of early writers* in the Church.

A.—GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE N. T.

§ 268.

There are several MSS. of the Greek Testament lying scattered in the libraries of different countries,—in Paris,

Spain, Italy (especially in Florence and Rome), and in the cloisters of Turkey in Europe and of Asia. Not reckoning the lectionaries, no fewer than 700 of these have been made use of, or at least are known;[1] but these are by no means all alike perfect. Before noticing *seriatim* the most important of these, I will offer the following more general remarks :—

1. Some manuscripts contain the entire Greek Bible, the books of the O. T. according to the LXX., together with those of the New, and the Apocrypha intervening. Others, again, contain simply the N. T.; and of these, some have not all the N. T. books, some have but a few. The MSS. of the Gospels are most numerous, those of the Pauline Epistles next. The number containing the General Epistles and the book of the Acts is smaller; and we have the fewest of the Apocalypse,—a book which, during the early centuries, was received with doubt in the Greek Churches, who hesitated to place it among the canonical books, and which was comparatively little read, even in those Churches fully recognising its canonicity, and was therefore less frequently copied.

2. The N. T. writers must certainly have used *charta*, χάρτης (2 John 12), a material made from the Egyptian papyrus reed, and of which many varieties were in use at the time,—some of it very strong and stout, as Hieratic paper, appropriated to sacred uses, and some of a thinner texture, as *e.g.* the Augustine, Livian, or Claudian,—names derived from Augustus, Livia, and Claudius; and of these the last was stronger than the two others, and held an intermediate place between the Hieratic on the one hand, and the Augustine and Livian on the other. It was probably upon this material that the first copies of the N. T. books were made; but no MSS. of the N. T. written upon the Egyptian papyrus have come down to us: all that we possess are either on parchment or vellum, or upon the different kinds of paper afterwards used. Vellum was the costliest and most durable material. Constantine the Great had fifty splendid copies of Holy Scripture (not of the Gospels only, as Tregelles says, p. 43) made upon parchment, under the direction of Euse-

[1] See GUERICKE, p. 648 f., note 2.

bius of Cæsarea, for the churches of Constantinople.[1] The codices are written partly upon paper made of cotton or of silk (*charta bombycina, serica*)—which came into use in the eighth century, and quite supplanted the Egyptian paper—and partly upon paper made of linen (*charta lintea*), which was used from the thirteenth century downwards, though the cotton paper kept its place side by side with it down to the middle of the fourteenth century.

3. As to the outward form or shape of the manuscripts, the ancients used rolls for their writings, upon which the several leaves were rolled together, so that when they were read they had to be unrolled; and thus doubtless the writers of the N. T. books and the first copyists arranged their manuscripts. This, however, was found to be so inconvenient, especially for reference, that it was soon given up; and the plan, now universal, of sewing the leaves together was introduced. Thus at least all the MSS. of the N. T. known to us are done, and they consist of sheets folded usually in four, five, six, or eight folds, and in different shapes, for the most part folio or quarto, and some very small, laid side by side, and bound in what we call quarto, octavo, duodecimo, eighteenmo quires. Such is the form, for example, of the copies prepared by Eusebius for Constantine: they are ternions and quaternions, *i.e.* in sheets folded in three or in four.

4. The manuscripts which have come down to us belong to different times, from the fifth, or perhaps the fourth, century downwards to the sixteenth; and the style of writing greatly varies in them, many (and these the oldest) in uncial characters, and the rest (and these by far the most numerous) in cursive writing, in the *scriptio continua*, or with division of words, and breaks or pauses, with and without accentuation, punctuation more or less fully marked, and so forth. The different forms of the MSS., the material on which they are written, the manner of writing and spelling, are the main things which help us to decide the date and the country to which they severally belong.[2] There are other marks, too,

[1] EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constant.* iv. 36, 37.

[2] BERN. DE MONTFAUCON, *Palæographia Græca*, Paris 1708, fol. See

in the writing, which enable us to decide,—as, for instance, the *menologia* (μηνολόγιον) appended, *i.e.* the tables of saints' days upon which certain portions of Scripture were appointed to be read; for sometimes we find certain days wanting, or mentioned for the first time, in honour of certain saints who now were dead, or who belonged to the country in which the MS. was written. Sometimes the name of the writer of the codex is given, and even the date; but there is uncertainty here: for it is doubtful whether the statement refers to the codex before us, or to some earlier one, of which this is a copy, the later copyist mechanically copying the name and date of the earlier one before him. When we do not find these express signs, there is much uncertainty and room for doubt in forming our opinion concerning the date and country of the MS. from other indications, so that opinions differ greatly concerning the age of the various codices; and we can only decide with certainty which belong to an early and which to a late date, without being able to name even the century to which they severally belong, or anything more definite. In order to be able to form an opinion, a long and painstaking familiarity with the subject, a thorough knowledge of all the facts and circumstances to be taken into account, and a special aptitude and tact, are necessary.

5. The manuscripts which contain the Greek text only are called *Codices puri.* Many contain also a commentary, scholia, or translation; and these are called *Codices mixti.* Manuscripts with a translation are called *Codices bilingues;* and when the translation is a Latin one, *Codices Græco-Latini*, the Latin being either the Vulgate, or, in the oldest MSS., a version before the time of Jerome. The translation is put in a separate column, or in the margin, or in lines alternating with the Greek (*cum versione interlineari*). There

also the fac-similes of the different MSS. given in vol. i. of Tischendorf's noble edition of the Codex Sinaiticus, where plates 20 and 21 present fac-similes of MSS. from those of the oldest Greek down to the seventh century. [See also the plates and explanations in SCRIVENER'S *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.*, Cambridge 1861.]

has been much difference of opinion concerning the value of these *Codd. Græco-Latini*, especially the oldest of them. Some have supposed that the Greek text has been altered and accommodated to the Latin; and thus R. Simon, Chr. Ben. Michaelis, and Wetstein. The last-named critic especially entertained this suspicion, not only with reference to the Græco-Latin MSS., but concerning the other MSS. which have no Latin translation but were made to harmonize with the Latin standard; and he therefore calls them *Codices Latinizantes*. But other scholars, *e.g.* Semler, Griesbach, Woide, J. D. Michaelis, have vindicated these codices from this suspicion, and it is now generally regarded as ungrounded: indeed, in itself it is quite improbable; for even in the Western Church the exact knowledge and study of the Greek text were kept up, and the Latin versions were not so highly esteemed as to be regarded as of higher authority. There are some MSS., indeed, in which alterations seem to have been made in the Greek, so as to harmonize it with the Vulgate; but these are comparatively modern, *i.e.* about the fifteenth century; and the changes do not occur throughout, but only in certain places.

6. Besides the manuscripts containing the entire N. T., or certain portions or books (*codices textus perpetui*), there are many which give only the portions selected for reading in the churches,—the *ἀναγνώσεις* or Pericopoi, *codices ecclesiastici*, *lectionaria*. As to the text of this class of MSS., we find slight alterations in the beginnings of the passages given, so as to make them appropriate and complete in themselves, as lessons taken out of their context,—the omission, for example, of connecting particles, or the addition of a few introductory words, "The Lord saith," etc. These alterations, whether additions or omissions, have often been incorporated subsequently in other manuscripts which contain the text in full, but which were used for reading in the Church, and in which the several lessons are marked. In the study of textual criticism, it is not unimportant to know the beginnings of the several lessons appointed to be read in the churches. For instance, Luke vii. 31 begins one of these

lessons; and the words εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος were prefixed, and made their way into many later MSS. thus: εἶπε δὲ ὁ Κύριος. Again, in Acts x. 21, after ἄνδρας the received text has τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους ἀπὸ τοῦ Κορνηλίου πρὸς αὐτὸν, which was inserted at the beginning of a Church lesson, for the purpose of informing the hearer who the men were that are here mentioned, but which are unnecessary for a reader of the entire narrative, to whom this would be obvious from the context.

7. In order to designate the several manuscripts, it has been customary since the time of Wetstein to use for the uncial MSS. the Roman capitals A, B, C, etc., and for the smaller or cursive MSS. the Arabic figures 1, 2, 3, and so on; and in particular, to denote the different portions of the N. T., viz., (1) the Gospels; (2) the Acts and General Epistles; (3) the Pauline Epistles; and (4) the Revelation. Thus the same letters and figures denote different codices, when applied to these different parts of the N. T.; and often one and the same codex, especially in the cursive MSS., is named for these different portions. This must be regarded as an unfortunate circumstance, though it cannot well be obviated without introducing new perplexities.

Notices of the several Manuscripts.

§ 269.

The oldest and most important manuscripts of the N. T. are the Codices A, B, and C, to which we must now add ℵ, the Sinaitic MS., all of which originally contained the entire Greek Bible, Old and New Testaments, and which belong to a time when the improvements made by Euthalius, and in particular the stichometric method of writing, had not yet been introduced, or had not at least become general.

1. A, or ALEXANDRINUS, which was sent as a present from Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, to King Charles I. of England, in the year 1628, and which has been deposited in the British Museum, London, since 1753. It

consists of four folio volumes, the first three containing the O. T. in Greek, and the fourth the N. T. This codex has several *lacunæ;* the portions wanting in the N. T. being Matt. i. 1–xxv. 6, John vi. 50–viii. 52, 2 Cor. iv. 13–xii. 6. It is on vellum, uncial writing, and in double columns, without accents or breathings, in the *scriptio continua;* but the ends of words, especially of proper names, are indicated by small commas or strokes, and the end of a sentence by a point placed at the top of the preceding letter, and the paragraphs by a break in the line, or by a larger letter at the beginning of the following section. It contains the N. T. books in the following order: 1. The Gospels; 2. The Acts; 3. The General Epistles; 4. The Pauline Epistles, including the Epistle to the Hebrews between 2d Thessalonians and 1st Timothy; 5. The Revelation. In the Gospels the Ammonian chapters and the Eusebian canons, together with the τίτλοι, are marked; but the other books have no divisions into chapters or ἀναγνώσεις. Cyril, who had before been Patriarch of Alexandria, brought the codex thence to Constantinople, and hence it was called the Codex Alexandrinus.[1] According to another account given by a deacon of Cyril's, he received it from Mount Athos, where he resided a long time before he became Patriarch of Alexandria. But the codex was certainly in early times at Alexandria; and according to a Latin statement inserted in the beginning of the codex, the Alexandrine patriarchate received it as a present in the year 1098. It was most probably written at Alexandria. Opinions vary greatly concerning its age; and it is variously dated somewhere between the fourth and the tenth century. According to a note in Latin by Cyril, the tradition was, that the work was written by an Egyptian lady of high rank, named Thecla (*manu Theclæ, nobilis fœminæ Ægyptiæ*), in the fourth century; and according to a postscript in Arabic, by a female martyr Thecla, who is represented as a disciple

[1] Hence it was named *Codex A, i.e. Alexandrinus*, by WALTON. Wetstein retained this designation, and was led thus to call the other uncial codices by the following letters of the alphabet. See TREGELLES, p. 151.

of Paul. But we cannot put any reliance upon these statements. We may with the highest degree of probability conclude that the codex is very old, and was written in Egypt not later certainly than the middle of the fifth century. Besides the N. T. books, and following them, it contains the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, and the fragment of a supposed second epistle of Clement's. This is the only codex we possess containing these epistles; and in the list of books prefixed both these epistles are named among the N. T. writings, just in the same manner as the other epistles, and after the Revelation (see Tregelles, p. 154); and this circumstance indicates the great antiquity of the codex, and its Egyptian origin. Its great age is also shown by the absence of the arrangement introduced by Euthalius, especially supposing it to have been written at Alexandria.

Woide has published a fac-simile of the portion of this codex containing the N. T., printed with type cast for the purpose; and thus the codex in its true and original form is presented, London 1786, folio.[1] Woide's prolegomena were carefully reprinted by Spohn with some additions, and a collation of the readings in the codex (*Woide notitia Cod. Alex. cum var. ejus lectt. cur. Spohn*, Leipz. 1788). The text had before been carefully examined by various scholars, especially by Walton, Mill, Wetstein. Wetstein suspected that the codex had been altered into keeping with the Latin version; but Semler (*De ætate Cod. Alex.* 1760, 4to), and still more fully Woide, have vindicated its integrity. Indeed, it is very unnatural to suppose that the Alexandrines, or Greeks generally in the East, at so early a date altered their codices of Holy Scripture, for the sake of bringing them into harmony with the Latin versions.[2]

[1] [B. H. Cowper has issued a new and cheaper edition, in ordinary type (London 1860), in which Woide's text is corrected in several places by the original. The *lacunæ* in the codex are supplied by Küster's edition of Mill's N. T. In Cowper's judgment, the mistakes in Woide's edition are repeated and enhanced in Spohn's collation.—B.]

[2] A specimen of the writing in the codex, as presented in Woide, is given by Tregelles, p. 157. [See also Scrivener.]

2. A codex in the Vatican Library in Rome, No. 1209, called *par excellence* CODEX VATICANUS, or Cod. B, containing the several portions of the N. T. except the Revelation. This codex also contains the Greek Bible, and the N. T. books in the same order as Codex A. In the O. T. the greater part of Genesis, and some of the Psalms, are wanting. In the N. T., the concluding portion of the Hebrews, from ch. ix. 15 onwards, the Pastoral Epistles, Philemon, and the Revelation, have been lost. These four Pauline epistles are altogether wanting; but the end of Hebrews and the Revelation have been supplied by another and a later hand (about the fifteenth century). The codex is written upon the finest vellum, in quarto, three columns on each page, with no intervals between the words, and with but few abbreviations. At the end of the several sentences and paragraphs a small space is left, of the breadth of a letter or half a letter: the original text has no other punctuation. The faint lines of the original writing, on which the ink was faded, have been retraced with new ink by a later hand; and this later hand has here and there, though but seldom, inserted certain signs of punctuation. The larger letters at the beginning of the paragraphs, together with the accents and breathings, have been added by this reviser; for these are not, it would appear, the work of the first hand, as Birch thinks, but of the second, as Hug and Tregelles (who used a microscope in examining the codex) decide. Divisions of the several books into sections are traceable, which do not appear in any other manuscript: thus in the Gospels, instead of the Ammonian-Eusebian chapters and τίτλοι, we find Matthew divided into 170 sections, Mark into 62 [according to Mai; but according to others, 72 or 61], Luke into 152, and John into 80. The Pauline Epistles are in this codex (and in no other) treated as one complete whole; and it is worthy of note, that though the Epistle to the Hebrews is placed after 2d Thessalonians, the numbers of its sections follow in order those of the Epistle to the Galatians. The Galatian epistle ends with section 59, and the Hebrews begins with section 60, but the Epistle to the Ephesians with section 70; and this makes it

probable that the manuscript is a copy of an older codex containing these divisions, and in which the Epistle to the Hebrews followed that to the Galatians. The divisions which we find in the book of the Acts and in the Pastoral Epistles differ from the Euthalian, which do not occur anywhere in the codex, and there is nothing indicating the influence of Euthalius; for even the postscripts of the several books are shorter and simpler than those usually found in MSS. based upon the Euthalian editions. The high antiquity of this codex is also witnessed by the fact that in Eph. i. 1 the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ do not stand in the text, but only in the margin (cf. § 169). The codex therefore, in all probability, belongs to the fourth century,—at latest to the beginning of the fifth, but more probably to the fourth. This is the opinion of Hug,[1] Tischendorf, and Tregelles. It is very probable that this codex likewise (which Wetstein also suspects of being an interpolated accommodation to the Latin) was written in Egypt—in Alexandria.

This codex is generally recognised as one of the oldest and most important manuscripts of the N. T. which we possess, if not the oldest and most important of all.[2] It is therefore a matter of regret that we have not a fuller knowledge of it in points of detail. There are many collations of it, but none of these is perfect or fully trustworthy; indeed, they present serious discrepancies when compared together. There is one (*a*) in the Paris Library, made in 1669, and bearing the feigned name of Julius de St. Anastasia, its real author being Bartolocci, the *custos* of the Vatican Library. This collation is very incomplete. It was first made use of, but not with any painstaking accuracy, by Scholz, and afterwards by Tischendorf, who gave some readings from it in the *Stud. u.*

[1] *De Antiquitate Cod. Vat.*, Freiburg 1809, 4to, and *Einl. i. N. T.* Specimens of this codex may here be found; also in BLANCHINUS, *Evangelarium quadruplex*, i. 492; TISCHENDORF, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1847; TREGELLES, p. 165; [SCRIVENER as before].

[2] See PHIL. BUTTMANN, *Theol. u. Krit.* 1860, p. 341 sqq. The award of antiquity seems to him to lie between this codex and codex ℵ. It is doubtful which of the two is the oldest.

Krit. (1847, part i. pp. 237 sqq.), also by Tregelles. (*b*) The collation which bears Bentley's name, and prepared for his edition of the N. T. mainly by an Italian named Mico (circ. 1720). It is written on the margin of a copy of the Strasburg edition (1524) of the N. T., and was found among Bentley's papers in the Library of Trin. Coll. Cambridge. Woide transcribed it into a copy of the Fellian edition of the year 1675; and from this, again, H. Ford published it in his *Appendix* to Woide's edition of the Codex Alexandrinus (Oxford 1799). In this collation the readings of the Codex Vaticanus, in places where there are corrections by a later hand, are given according to these corrections, and not according to the original text. To remedy this defect, Bentley employed the Abbate Rulotta to compare it with the original, to get the readings of the first hand and the marginal notes; and the collation which Rulotta made was discovered by Tischendorf among the Bentley manuscripts at Cambridge in 1855. (*c*) The collation made by Andrew Birch, first published in his edition of the four Gospels at Copenhagen 1788 (folio and 4to), and afterwards with greater care and accuracy in his *Variæ Lectiones* on the Acts and Epistles (1798) and Gospels (1801). He does not seem to have even compared the Gospels of Luke and John, but merely gives the various readings of the Bentleyan collation furnished for him by Woide (see Lachmann, *N. T. ed maj.*, tom. i., præf. p. xxii.). Indeed, this collation is in no respect accurate. The most complete and trustworthy of these three collations is perhaps the Bentleyan, though even this is not fully to be relied on.

Cardinal Mai (*ob.* 1854) undertook the publication of the entire codex in Rome, and in 1838 he had completed the printing of the Prolegomena, when the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities necessary for the publication was refused, doubtless because the codex did not confirm many readings in the edition of the Vulgate sanctioned by the Roman See. But considering the mode of procedure adopted by Mai (according to general report), it was unlikely that he would give the text in a thoroughly trustworthy man-

ner.[1] The learned jealousy, moreover, of Cardinal Mai, while he lived, excluded the efforts of other scholars who might have furnished a trustworthy collation; indeed, it was only with much trouble that they could get a sight of the manuscript: and this state of things has continued since the Cardinal's death. Some scholars have examined a few of its readings: *e.g.* Tischendorf (see *Stud. u. Krit.* 1847); Tregelles, 1845 and 1846; and Ed. de Muralt. The last-named scholar states that he was allowed to examine the codex for three successive days, so as to compare it with the collations of Bartolocci (of which he had a copy) and of Birch; and in the strength of this he published an edition of the *N. T. græce ad fidem codicis principis Vaticani editum*, Hamburg 1846, and with *apparatus criticus*, 1848. But this edition is by no means suited reliably to inform us concerning the text of the closely guarded codex.[2] The designation B has, since the time of Wetstein, been commonly used also for a codex of the Apocalypse (which book the Cod. Vaticanus does not contain) in the Vatican Library, No. 2066,—a codex which contains the whole of the Apocalypse among the Homilies of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa. It was collated for Wetstein's

[1] This is sadly confirmed by the edition at length published in 5 vols. 4to, Rome 1857. The editor, VERCELLONE, states in his preface that the publication of the work had been delayed through Cardinal Mai's own dilatoriness. After his death a commission were entrusted with the revision of the work, and many corrections were made and some sheets reprinted; but Vercellone himself intimated that many errors remained still uncorrected. In the new 8vo edition, published by Vercellone in 1859, the text is in several places amended. A cheap reprint of the first Roman edition of the N. T. was published simultaneously in London and Leipsic in 1859. KUENEN and COBET endeavour to give the true text of the Vatican Codex, taking Mai's edition as the basis of their work (Leyden 1860). But they exclude from the text not only the obvious mistakes of Mai, but the distinctive orthography and grammatical forms of the codex, noting these alterations in the Prolegomena. See the recension, by ALEX. BUTTMANN, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1860, p. 151 sqq. PHIL. BUTTMANN'S edition (*N. T. Græce ad fidem Cod. Vat. recensuit*, Berlin 1862) keeps more closely to the letter of the codex, and it contains a list of the texts in which the readings of the different editions of the codex vary.

[2] See TISCHENDORF, ed. 2, Leipsic, *Prolegg.* p. xlvii. sqq.

N. T., but not fully; but it has been printed in Tischendorf's *Monumenta sacra inedita* (Leipsic 1846, 4to, pp. 407–432), with a fac-simile: this we find, too, in Blanchinus' *Evangelarium quadruplex*. The Apocalypse in Cardinal Mai's edition is printed from this manuscript.

[3. CODEX ℵ, SINAITICUS, now in St. Petersburg, which Tischendorf discovered on the 4th February 1859, in a monastery on Mount Sinai, having before in 1844 seen some fragments of the O. T. belonging to the same codex, which he published as *Cod. Friderico-Augustanus* (Leipsic 1846). This codex contains, besides certain portions of the O. T., the whole of the N. T., arranged as follows: 1. The Gospels; 2. The Pauline Epistles, with the Epistle to the Hebrews following 2d Thessalonians; 3. The book of the Acts; 4. The General Epistles; 5. The Apocalypse. It also contains the Epistle of Barnabas, now for the first time presented in full in its original Greek, and part of the Pastor of Hermas, which hitherto, if we except the manuscript of Simonides, had been extant in Latin only. Between the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas about six leaves seem to be missing, which perhaps contained another apocryphal book. The latter part of *the Shepherd*, too, is wanting; and whether anything further was included in the original manuscript cannot now be told. The codex, according to Tischendorf, was made in the fourth century by four different but contemporary scribes, and the hands of correctors (probably about the twelfth century) are also traceable. It is written on very fine vellum, without accents or breathings, without any spaces between the words, and without large initial capitals. It is doubtful whether the very simple and rarely occurring punctuation traceable belonged to the original codex, or is the work of a corrector. It is also uncertain whether the Ammonian chapters and Eusebian canons are from the pen of a reviser, or (as Tischendorf allows to be possible) belonged to the codex itself. Like Codex B, it wants the divisions and paragraphs of Euthalius. One peculiarity of this manuscript is, that throughout (excepting in the poetical books of the O. T.) it has four columns on

each page. The end of St. Mark's Gospel (ch. xvi. 9 sqq.) is wanting here, as in Codex B. The words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in Eph. i. 1 are also added by a later hand. This codex is peculiarly valuable on account of its completeness, for none of the other uncial MSS. contain the whole of the N. T. without *lacunæ*. A splendid edition of this manuscript was published at St. Petersburg in 1862, entitled *Bibliorum Codex Sinaïticus Petropolitanus* . . . ed. Const. Tischendorf, 4 vols. folio.; and this edition presents a faithful copy of the old uncial characters, the columns, the various corrections, etc. Vol. i. contains Prolegomena and a critical commentary on 21 photo-lithographed plates. Vol. iv. contains the N. T., with the *Pastor* and the Epistle of Barnabas.[1] While Tischendorf regards this as the oldest and most valuable of all the manuscripts of the N. T. now extant, not excepting even the Codex Vaticanus, Buttmann gives his opinion in the following words: "The manuscript is unquestionably of very great antiquity, and of very high critical value. But its worth is somewhat diminished by the circumstance that it is very negligently written, and is not revised as it should have been by the original writers; and, moreover, it bears throughout too much a Western colouring. This source would therefore be of use rather for the emendation than the basis of the N. T. text."]

4. *Codex* C, or *Ephræmi*, in the Imperial Library of Paris; a *codex rescriptus* or palimpsest. The upper writing (belong-

[1] [At the same time with this large edition a small one of the N. T. was published with cursive letters, but giving still the four columns, the divisions of lines, etc. This is entitled, *N. T. Sinaiticum, sive N. T. cum epistola Barnabæ et fragmentis Pastoris ex cod. Sinaitico . . . accurate descripsit*, TISCHENDORF, Lipsiæ 1863, pp. lxxxi. and 296, 4to, with a plate. Concerning the value of this codex, see K. WIESELER in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1864, pp. 399–438; PHIL. BUTTMANN, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.* 1864, p. 637 sqq.; SCRIVENER, *A full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus with the Received Text*, Cambridge 1864. In reply to HILGENFELD (*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1864, part i.), who assigns the manuscript to the sixth century, inferring this date from the postscript to the book of Esther, which it contains, see TISCHENDORF, *ibid.* part ii., and in his edition of the codex in 1865, p. lxii. sq.]

ing to the thirteenth century) contains the ascetic works of Ephræm Syrus in Greek; and the earlier writing underneath is the Greek Bible, O. and N. T. It consists of 209 leaves, 62 of which contain portions of the O. T. books (of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus),—a fac-simile of which Tischendorf published in 1845; and the remainder contain the N. T., but with several *lacunæ*, making in all perhaps a third of the N. T., the several books being in the same order as in the Codex Alexandrinus. The text is written without spaces between the words, without accents or breathings, and not in columns; with the Ammonian sections in the Gospels, but without the Eusebian canons. At the head of Luke and John the τίτλοι are enumerated, but they are not given in the text; the other books have no divisions, so that the codex in its original form had nothing which is traceable to Euthalius. The original punctuation was only a small point or dot, occurring frequently in some books and very rarely in others; but later correctors have inserted a cross as a sign of punctuation, and have also added accents and breathings. This codex must be reckoned among the oldest MSS. extant, belonging probably to the beginning of the fifth century, and thus occupying a middle place between the Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Alexandrinus. It was first used for Küster's edition of Mill's N. T. (1710): it was afterwards, with greater accuracy, collated by Wetstein; but on several pages much remained illegible, until a chemical preparation, Gioberti's tincture, was used in order to bring out to view the older writing; and Tischendorf edited a splendid edition of the entire codex, with an exact fac-simile.[1]

5. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin, there is an old *codex rescriptus*, containing in its old worn-out writing, among other things, several portions of the Gospel by

[1] TAUCHNITZ, Leipsic 1843, fol. Other fac-similes of this codex may be found in MONTFAUCON, *Palæogr.* p. 214; SCHOLZ, *Bibl. Krit. Reise*, 1823, plate 4; and in FLECK'S *Anecdota in itineribus Italicis et Gallicis collecta*, Leipz. 1837, tab. 1. See also GRIESBACH on this codex, *Symb.* pp. iii.–liv.; FLECK, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1841, pp. 126–152.

Matthew, upon thirty-two leaves; and this palimpsest must be reckoned among the oldest MSS. extant, dating at latest from the sixth century. Dr. John Barrett, Fellow of Trinity College, who first discovered this MS., published it in facsimile, on 64 copperplates, with preface, critical notes, and appendix.[1] Dav. Schulz made use of it in his edition of Griesbach's *N. T.* (1827), and the codex was named Z. In 1853 Tregelles again examined the MS., and was permitted to apply a chemical preparation, so as to make the original writing clearer. The text is without accents or breathings. The signs of punctuation consist simply of a point, and a small space between paragraphs. The codex has the Ammonian sections without the Eusebian canons, and the τίτλοι are marked in the margin. A specimen of its type may be found in Tregelles and in Scrivener.

§ 270.

Several *Codices Græco-Latini* are of no less value and importance than the four manuscripts I have named, though they must be assigned to a somewhat later period after the time of Euthalius, when the stichometric method of writing had appeared. They may in general be regarded as having come from the Western Church, where Latin was the prevailing vernacular; for it is unlikely that such codices with a Latin version would have been written in Egypt or in the East. Still, as the basis of the Greek text which these codices contain, manuscripts brought from the East to the West were probably used.

6. *Codex* D of the Gospels and Acts, in the University Library at Cambridge, and therefore called *Cantabrigiensis.* It was sent thither in 1581, as a present from Theodore Beza (and therefore called *Codex Bezæ*), who himself tells us that he obtained it in 1562, during the French civil war, at Lyons, where it had been found in the Monastery of St. Irenæus. It had been, however, very probably used for

[1] *Ev. sec. Matth. ex Cod. rescr. in Bibl. Collegii St. Trin. juxta Dublin,* 1801. A second edition was afterwards published under the editorship of Dr. TODD.

Robert Stephens' edition of the N. T. in 1550, in the margin of which we find the same codex designated as β. The Greek text is on one page, and the Latin (but not that of Jerome) on the opposite. The Gospels are arranged as we find them only in some of the oldest Latin versions, John immediately following Matthew (see § 18). The codex has many *lacunæ*, especially in the Acts, some of which have been supplied by a later hand; and there are many corrections by later hands throughout. Both texts are written stichometrically by one and the same hand, in uncial letters, without accents or breathings, or spaces between words; and the numbers of the Ammonian sections in the margin are by a later hand. A fine edition of this codex was published under the editorship of Dr. Thomas Kipling, printed in type to imitate the original (Camb. 1793, 2 vols. fol.), and giving the MS. as it now lies, with the alterations of later correctors, and with notes at the end, explaining the various alterations and erasures. The text of this codex presents much that is striking and peculiar—many strange and apocryphal, though not uninteresting, additions and changes. It had its origin in the West, probably in the south of France,[1] where it was written, perhaps before the middle of the sixth century, from a text which came from Alexandria. The Latin text answers to the Greek; but Wetstein and others, who think that the Greek has been altered to harmonize with the Latin, are mistaken in their opinion.

7. *Codex Laudianus*, containing the Acts only, and designated E for this book. It was presented to the Bodleian Library at Oxford in the year 1636 by Archbishop Laud. It has two columns on each page; and, contrary to the usual practice, the Greek is on the right, and the Latin occupies the place of honour on the left. The lines are very short, containing only one or two words, and rarely three; and they correspond to each other in each text. It is written in

[1] See SCHOLZ, in the *Zeitschr. f. Philos. u. kathol. Theol.* v. 1833, p. 83 sqq. TREGELLES gives a specimen of both texts. [SCRIVENER also gives a very full account of this codex, *Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.* pp. 96–103.]

uncials, the Greek without accents or breathings. The codex is defective from ch. xxvi. 29 to xxviii. 26. It was used in the editions of Fell (1675) and Mill (1707). A careful and accurate reprint of this codex was edited by Thomas Hearne, and published at Oxford in 1715; but only 120 copies were printed, and the work is seldom met with, being sold in England for £6. A new edition of it is in the appendix to vol. viii. of Tischendorf's *Monumenta sacra, Nova collectio*, and a specimen of it is given by Tregelles. It was not certainly written in Alexandria, as Hug thinks, but in the West, seeing that the Latin text occupies the most prominent place. An edict of a Sardinian duke, written by a later hand, is appended to the codex. Now there were Sardinian governors or *duces* from the year 534 down to the middle of the eighth century; and the inference is, that when this edict was made the codex was in Sardinia. Possibly it was written there; but this is very uncertain. It is very probable, as Wetstein thinks, that the Venerable Bede (*ob.* 735) adopted certain readings from this manuscript in his *Expositio Actuum apostolorum retractata;* for all the seventy-four readings which he gives are found in it. This points to the conclusion that the MS. had been brought to England, at latest, in the beginning of the eighth century [see Tregelles, p. 188, and Scrivener, p. 128]. The codex must have been written in the seventh century. Tischendorf thinks it dates before the end of the sixth. The Latin has been made to coincide with the Greek, and not *vice versa*, as some have supposed.

8. A codex of the Pauline Epistles, now in the Paris Library, No. 107, previously in the possession of Beza, who received it, as he tells us himself, from Clermont, in the diocese of Beauvais, and hence called the *Codex Claromontanus*, and numbered D (by Lachmann Δ) for the Pauline Epistles. The Greek text is on the left, and the Latin on the right hand page. Both are written stichometrically, in uncials, with accents and breathings, which, however, seem to have been added by a later hand. Rom. i. 1–7 is wanting, and in the Latin the concluding verses of the Hebrews. In the middle there are two leaves (1 Cor. xiv. 13–22) by

a later though comparatively early hand; and the codex throughout presents several corrections by various hands, and at various times. The Epistle to the Hebrews stands last; and following the Epistle to Philemon is a list of the στίχοι of the several books of the O. and N. T., in which John follows Matthew, and Hebrews is not named. Credner's opinion, that the Hebrews is meant by the name *Barnabæ epistola* occurring in the list before the Revelation and the Acts, is confirmed by the fact that the number of στίχοι (850) corresponds exactly with that of the Hebrews, whereas their number in the so-called Epistle of Barnabas (in the *Stichom. Niceph.*) is 1360. Marsh and others have supposed that the Hebrews was added by a later hand; but Tischendorf (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1844, p. 486) maintains that it is written by the same hand as the other epistles. Possibly the writer had before him a codex for the other epistles which did not contain that to the Hebrews, and that codex must certainly have been of Latin origin; indeed, our codex itself was evidently written in the West, perhaps by a Greek librarian who did not know Latin well. The codex is of great value as a Western witness, and is rightly assigned to the seventh, or the close of the sixth century. It was made use of in the editions of Beza, Curcellæus, Walton, and Mill. Wetstein and Griesbach also collated it, the former twice; and Tischendorf and Tregelles have edited and published it in full (Leipz. 1852).

I mention here, in passing, *Codex Sangermanensis* (E) of the Pauline Epistles, which takes its name from the Abbey of St. Germain in Paris, where it was first found. It is now in St. Petersburg, whither it was brought during the first French Revolution by Dobrowsky. It is merely a transcript of the Cod. Claromontanus, after this latter had been under the hands of many correctors; but the copyist separates the original text from the corrections, and so as to present quite meaningless readings in some places. It belongs to the ninth or tenth century, and now has some *lacunæ*.

9. A Codex (G) of the Pauline Epistles, now in the Royal Library of Dresden (*Codex Dresdensis*), whence it

came from among the books of the Leipsic theologian, Ch. F. Börner, hence called *Codex Boernerianus*, who had obtained it from Leyden. The Latin written (*versio interlinearis*) over the Greek text differs from that of Jerome, and corresponds exactly with the Greek. The MS. is on vellum, the Greek characters being in a hand somewhat between uncial and cursive, and the Latin being in cursive writing, with spaces between the words, but without accents. The στίχοι are marked not with lines, but with larger initial letters. The codex is defective in some epistles, but the *lacunæ* are not important (Rom i. 1–5, ii. 16–25; 1 Cor. iii. 8–16, vi. 7–14; Col. ii. 1–8; Philem. 21–25). It was used by Küster for his edition of Mill. Ch. Fr. Matthäi edited a very careful and accurate reprint of the codex (xiii. epp. Pauli)—*Cod. . . . olim Boernerianus nunc Bibl. Elect. Dresd.* 1791—with a new title and two plates, giving a facsimile, in 1818. It has notes in the margin *primâ manu*, in which Gottschalk, among others, is named, showing that it was not written before his time (about the middle of the ninth century). It cannot, however, have been written much later than then, and this is the opinion also of Tischendorf and Lachmann (tom. i. p. xx.); probably at St. Gall. Lachmann ranks it very high among the MSS. of the West. (See below, No. 11.)

10. Another codex of the Pauline Epistles (*Cod.* F), called *Augiensis*, from the Abbey Augia Major, or Reichenau, on an island in the Lake Constance, where it was found. It came into Bentley's hands in 1718, and in 1787 was placed in Trin. Coll. Cambridge, where it now is. The Latin version is in a column parallel with the Greek on the same page, and, unlike the other early *Codices Græco-Latini*, it is that of Jerome or the Vulgate. It wants Rom. i. 1–iii. 18, and the whole of the Epistle to the Hebrews is given in the Latin only. The Greek characters are uncial, without accents, with spaces, and often a small middle point between the words. The Greek text closely resembles that of the *Cod. Boernerianus*, and both must have been transcribed from one and the same original. Wetstein, indeed, thinks

that the one is copied from the other; but this opinion is untenable. The codex probably belongs to the ninth century. Besides Wetstein, Bentley very carefully examined and collated this codex, and his MS. is also in the Library of Trin. Coll. Camb. It has been again edited by Tischendorf and Tregelles.[1]

11. A Codex *Græco-Latinus* (the Latin interlinear with the Greek) of the four Gospels in the Library of St. Gall, named, though not collated, first by Scholz, and designated Δ of the Gospels: John xix. 17–35 alone is wanting. The Greek is in a hand between uncial and cursive, without accents, breathings, or ι *subscriptum*; the στίχοι are marked by larger initial letters; the Latin is cursive. A beautiful fac-simile of this whole codex was published by Ritter.[2] The Latin is not the Vulgate, nor a version before that of Jerome, but a later version, the work of the *Ellenici fratres Notkeri Balbuli*,[3] made not very skilfully with the help of the Vulgate. This codex very closely resembles the *Cod. Boerner.*, leading to the conclusion that both were written, if not by the same hand, yet about the same time by the monks of St. Gall; and the two originally formed one and the same codex, written probably by monks born in Ireland or Scotland. See Tregelles, p. 196, and Scrivener, p. 122. The codex dates from the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.

§ 271.

The following are some other uncial codices which may be named as of considerable antiquity, and as possessing great value either in themselves or in their historical bearing:—

[1] [Cf. TISCHENDORF, *Anecdota sacra et profana*, Leipz. 1855; ed. 2, 1860, 4to. An exact transcript of this codex was published by SCRIVENER, 1859, together with "a full collation of fifty MSS. containing various portions of the Greek N. T. in the Libraries of Cambridge, Durham, Leicester, Oxford, Lambeth, the British Museum," etc.—B.]

[2] *Antiquissimus 4 evangg. canon. Cod. Sangallensis*, etc., Zürich 1836, 4to. See a specimen of it also by RETTIG in the *Stud. u. Krit.* 1836.

[3] NOTKER BALBULUS, a monk of St. Gall, *ob.* 912, is ranked in the calendar among the saints.

12. *Codex* K of the four Gospels—the *Codex Cyprius*—which was brought from Cyprus in 1637, and is now in the Paris Library (No. 63), on vellum, with large uncials; with accents, though these often are wanting; a dot is used for punctuation, seemingly to show the end of the στίχοι; with the Ammonian sections, but without the Eusebian canons. R. Simon examined it for Mill, and at the suggestion of Hug —who attached very great, indeed too great, importance to it as bearing upon the history of the N. T. text—by Scholz, who gave a full but not very accurate account of it (*De Cod. Cyprio et familia, quam sistit*) in his *Curæ criticæ in historiam textus evangeliorum*, Heidelb. 1820. It has been collated anew both by Tischendorf and Tregelles, independently of each other. It is placed at the end of the eighth, or more probably the beginning of the ninth century.

13. *Codex* E of the four Gospels, in the Library at Basle, on vellum, in uncials, with accents and breathings, which are often omitted, and with signs of punctuation. In St. Luke's Gospel there are many *lacunæ*, some of which have been supplied by a later hand. It was made use of for the N. T. of Mill (*Basil.* 1) and of Bengel (*Bas. a*); and examined by Wetstein, and in our day by Tischendorf, Müller of Basle, and Tregelles. It consists of forty sheets 8vo, and there is a specimen of it in Hug's *Einl. ins N. T.* Certain marginal notes indicate that it had been in Constantinople, and had been used as a service-book. It was brought to Basle in the middle of the fifteenth century by Cardinal de Ragusio, deputy of the Council of Basle to the Greeks. He bequeathed it to the library of a monastery at Basle, whence it was afterwards transferred to the public library there. The tables of contents, lists of τίτλοι, and numbers of the Ammonian sections, are by a later hand, in the ninth century, as Hug thinks; and the codex itself belongs to the eighth, as Tischendorf also believes.

14. *Codex* L of the four Gospels, in the Paris Library (No. 62), on vellum, in uncials, with accents and breathings, though sometimes omitted; in *scriptio continua*, two columns on a page, punctuated (with a cross or stroke); with the

Ammonian sections, the Eusebian canons, the τίτλοι, and the Church lessons indicated. There are five unimportant *lacunæ*. It was examined for R. Stephens' edition in 1550 (where it is called η, *i.e. octavus*), and afterwards by Wetstein, and more accurately by Griesbach. It is now printed in full in Tischendorf's *Monumenta sacra inedita*, Leipz. 1846, pp. 59–399, with specimens. The text of this codex presents many points of resemblance with Cod. B. Tischendorf puts it in the eighth century; Griesbach, Hug, Tregelles, in the ninth.

§ 272.

Of the remaining uncial MSS. I name a few more, of which only fragments have come down to us, but which are important, on account of their age and character.[1]

(1.) In 1699, a *codex rescriptus*, or palimpsest, was discovered in the Library of Wolfenbüttel, first discovered at Bobbio, in Piedmont (see Tregelles, p. 179), the upper writing in which contains the *Origines* and six letters of Isidore of Spain, written probably in the ninth century; and the worn-out writing underneath contains, besides some fragments of a Gothic version of the Epistle to the Romans, portions of two Greek MSS. of the Gospels: (*a*) *Cod.* P of the Gospels, forty-three leaves, consisting of portions of the four Gospels, three from John, and the others from the Synoptics; (*b*) *Cod.* Q of the Gospels, with two portions of John, and several of Luke. Both codices are on vellum, in uncials, with the Ammonian sections, but not the Eusebian canons: they are placed in the sixth century [Cod. Q in the fifth by Tischendorf]. Knittel published as much as he could decipher of them, with the fragments of the Gothic version (*Ulphilæ vers. Goth. nonnullorum epp. ep. Pauli ad Rom. . . . una cum variis variæ litteraturæ monimentis*, Braunschw. 1762), with fac-similes of each codex.[2]

[1] [In this class may be included six fragments of uncial MSS. belonging to the sixth and seventh (or eighth) centuries, brought by TISCHENDORF in 1859 from the East to St. Petersburg. See TISCHENDORF, *Notitia editionis Cod. Bibl. Sinait.*, Leipz. 1860.]

[2] TISCHENDORF has examined both codices thoroughly, and has de-

(2.) *Codex* H of the Pauline Epistles consists of fourteen leaves, with fragments of 1st Corinthians, Galatians, 1st Timothy, Titus, Hebrews, and was transferred from the library of Bishop Coislin of Metz (*Codex Coislinianus* 202) to the Paris Library. It was copied and printed by Montfaucon, in his *Bibliotheca Coislin.* ii. 253–263, with a specimen; and a new edition of this has been published. Two of these leaves were missing after a fire, but are now in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. The codex was originally at Mount Athos, and was unwittingly used there as old vellum to bind some other books, in 1218. The writing is in large uncials, stichometric, and with accents. A postscript intimates that the codex corresponds with a MS. of Pamphilus, in the library at Cæsarea; but this does not amount to much. Still the codex is certainly old, belonging probably to the sixth or seventh century.

(3.) *Codex* T of the Gospels, thirteen leaves, containing two fragments of St. John's Gospel, from ch. vi.–viii.; and the Greek text stands face to face with an Egyptio-Thebaic version. It is now in the Library of the Propaganda in Rome, and was previously in the Borgian (*Codex Borgianus*). Both texts were edited by Aug. Anton. Georgi (*Fragm. ev. S. Joh. Græco-Copto-Thebaicum seculi* iv., Rome 1789). Tischendorf puts the MS. in the sixth century.

Another equally old fragment of a Græco-Thebaic codex, containing Luke xii. 15–xiii. 32, is given by Woide in the appendix to the *Cod. Alex.*, Oxf. 1799. Tregelles thinks this very similar to Cod. T. There is also in Woide another Græco-Thebaic fragment, containing John viii. 33–42, which begins where Codex T ends. This has been collated by Tischendorf for the seventh edition of his N. T.; and he incorporates it under the same title, Cod. T.

(4.) Twelve leaves of a codex, written upon purple-coloured vellum, with silver and sometimes gold letters, containing fragments of the Gospels, and assigned to the end of the sixth

ciphered them almost throughout. Cod. Q is published in the third volume of the *Monumenta inedita*, *Nova collectio*, 1860, pp. 265–290, with specimens of both codices.

or the beginning of the seventh century, have come down to us. Of these, (*a*) four are in the British Museum, fragments of Matthew and John, and called since Wetstein's time Cod. I of the Gospels; (*b*) two are in Vienna, fragments of Luke, and called since Wetstein Cod. N of the Gospels; (*c*) six are in the Vatican, first collated by Scholz, and called by him and Tischendorf Cod. Γ. All these have more conveniently been designated by Tischendorf Codex N of the Gospels, and he has published them in his *Monumenta sacra*, 1846 (Nos. 3, 4, 7, pp. 11–36).[1] Tregelles gives a specimen (p. 178).

(5.) In Tischendorf's collection there are also fragments of four old MSS. of the Gospels, which he collated for the second edition of his N. T. (1849), viz.: (*a*) Cod. Θ, *Tischendorfianus* I., brought by him from the East, and placed in the Leipsic Library, consisting of four leaves of Matthew, and belonging to the seventh century. In Tischendorf, *Nova collectio* (vol. ii. 1857, p. 321), there are two fragments of Matthew (xii. 17–19, 23–25), with a fac-simile, which, in Tischendorf's opinion, originally belonged to the same codex of Matthew. (*b*) Cod. Y, John xvi. 3–xix. 41, used by Scholz, in the Barbarini Library, Rome (before a codex of Theophylact's commentary on the Gospels); Tischendorf puts it in the eighth century. (*c*) Cod. W^a, in the Paris Library, two leaves containing Luke ix. 34–47, x. 12–22, assigned by Tischendorf to the eighth century, and before collated, though inaccurately, by Scholz.[2] (*d*) Cod. F^a, *Coislinianus*, at Paris, contains twenty fragments of the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles.

[1] [One of the fragments mentioned in the last note, and consisting of one leaf, very closely resembles these. It contains Matt. xxi. 19–24, and begins where the Vatican fragment leaves off.]

[2] [Concerning a *codex rescriptus* of fourteen leaves, which (Tischendorf thinks) belong to the same MS. (= W^b), see his N. T. ed. 7, p. clxix. In the *Nova collectio*, v. 3, 1860, are three leaves from the Library at St. Gall, containing fragments of Mark ii. and Luke i., seemingly the remains of a *Codex Græco-Latinus*, but of which only a few columns in Greek remain. Tischendorf has deciphered this, and designates it *Cod.* W^c.—B.]

(6.) In the Hamburg Library are two leaves of a codex containing the beginning and end of the Epistle to the Hebrews (i. 1–iv. 3, xii. 20–xiii. 25), *Codex Uffenbachianus*, thus called after its former owner, but reckoned since Wetstein's time with No. 53 of the Pauline Epistles, as if it were a cursive MS.; but the letters are for the most part uncials, in red ink, two columns on each page; collated by Bengel and Wetstein, then more accurately by Henke, 1800, with a fac-simile, and again by Tregelles and Tischendorf, who calls it M, and publishes it in his *Anecdota sacra et profana*, with a fac-simile. He assigns it to the ninth, but others to the tenth century.

To the same codex probably belong two leaves, with fragments of the Corinthian Epistles (1 Cor. xv. 52–2 Cor. i. 15, and 2 Cor. x. 13–xii. 5), in a *Codex Harleianus*, 5613, now in the British Museum (in Griesbach designated No. 64 of the Pauline Epistles), which Tischendorf has likewise published.

(7.) Among the Syriac MSS. found in a Coptic monastery in the Nitrian desert in Egypt, and brought in 1838 and 1847 to the British Museum, there is a *codex rescriptus*, the upper writing in which contains a Syriac version of the works of Severus bishop of Antioch, and the original writing beneath consisting (besides some books of the *Iliad* deciphered by Cureton 1851, and a Book of Euclid) of fragments, on forty-five leaves, of Luke's Gospel (Tischendorf, ed. 7, calls this R), which Tregelles and Tischendorf endeavoured to decipher, and which the latter has published in his *Monumenta sacra inedita, Nova collectio*, ii. pp. 3–92. The writing is uncial, the letters large, with the numbers of the Ammonian sections, but without the Eusebian canons. It is very hard to decipher. Egypt is probably its fatherland, and its date the sixth century. In another of these Syriac codices in the British Museum, and upon four leaves, are eight fragments of John's Gospel (Tischendorf, ed. 7, calls this N^b) from ch. xiii. and xvi., which Tischendorf places in the fourth or fifth century, and prints in the same work, pp. 311, 312.

(8.) Among the MSS. which Tischendorf brought from the East in 1843 and 1853, is an Armenian *codex rescriptus*, the under writing of twenty-eight leaves being fragments of the four Gospels, Acts, 1st Corinthians, and Titus. These Tischendorf has published in his *Nova collectio*, with six specimens, and a seventh in his *Anecdota sacra et profana*, tab. iii.: he considers them to be of Egyptian origin, by various scribes in the fifth and seventh centuries, = I. The *Collectio Nova* also gives (*a*), pp. 201–206, fragments from an old *evangelistarium*, the older writing being a *codex rescriptus* at Venice; and (*b*), pp. 207–210, two fragments of Matthew and John from an *evangelistarium*, an old *codex rescriptus* in the Barbarini Library.

(9.) *Cod. Tischendorfianus* III. (= *A*), an uncial codex of 157 leaves, 4to, containing in full the Gospels of Luke and John, with a postscript belonging to Mark, and some scholia; collated by Tischendorf, who puts it in the eighth century; now in the Bodleian at Oxford. Also *Cod. Tisch.* IV. (= *Γ*), of 157 leaves, 4to, containing Luke in full, the greater part of Mark (except iii. 35–vi. 20), and fragments of Matthew and John;[1] collated by Tischendorf, who places it in the ninth century. See *Anecdota*, pp. 4, 5; Tregelles, p. 203.[2]

[1] The portions of Matthew and John that are wanting were brought by Tischendorf to St. Petersburg in 1859, and these include all but 115 verses of Matthew (ch. v.–ix. 21, 22).

[2] Fuller lists of the Greek MSS., uncial and cursive, and of the Church Lectionaries, will be found in the Prolegg. of the editions of WETSTEIN, GRIESBACH, SCHOLZ, and TISCHENDORF. Notices of the codices will also be found in the N. T. Introductions of MARSH'S MICHAELIS, HUG, etc., and in the works of TISCHENDORF and TREGELLES [and SCRIVENER]. Also in GRIESBACH'S *Symbolæ criticæ ad supplendas et corrigendas variarum N. T. lectionum collectiones; accedit multorum N. T. codicum græcorum descriptio et examen*, Halle 1785, 1793; SCHOLZ, *Bibl. krit. Reise* in France, Switzerland, Italy, Palestine, and the Archipelago, in 1818–21; also his *Gesch. des Textes N. T.*, Leipz. 1823; RINCK, *Lucubratio crit. in Acta App. epp. Paul. et Cathol.*, Basel 1830, Heidelb. 1833; REICHE, *Codicum MSS. N. T. græcorum aliquot insigniorum in biblioth. reg. Paris. asservatorum nova descriptio et cum textu vulgo recepto collatio*, etc., Gött. 1847.

§ 273.

It remains for us to mention a few MSS. and readings not important in themselves, but historically noteworthy :—

(*a.*) *Codex Ravianus* or *Berolinensis*, since 1672 in the Berlin Library; before in the possession of Professor Rave of Upsala, who professed to have bought it in the East for 200 thalers. It contains the entire N. T., in uncials, without accents. It is celebrated as containing the disputed text 1 John v. 7, and has been often appealed to in the controversy about this verse. Now, however, it is generally acknowledged (owing mainly to the thorough investigation of Pappelbaum, *Unters. der Ravischen* MS. 1785; *Codicis* MS. *Gr. Raviani examen*, 1796) to be the work of a forger, merely a copy of the N. T. in the Complutensian Polyglot, and in some parts from the third edition—that of Stephens. Rave himself seems to have committed the forgery. Cf. Michaelis, *Einl.* pp. 638–642.

(*b.*) *Codex Montfortianus* or *Dublinensis*, now in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, previously owned by Thomas Montfort, about the middle of the seventeenth century; on paper, 12mo, in cursive writing, containing the entire N. T. (No. 61 in the Gospels, 34 in Acts and General Epistles, 40 in the Pauline Epistles, 92 [Tregelles] in the Revelation). This codex also was highly thought of, as containing 1 John v. 7, and Erasmus inserted the verse in the third edition of the N. T. (1522) on the strength of its authority (*e codice Britannico*). A collation of it is given in the appendix to Barrett's edition of the Cod. Dublinensis of Matthew (Z). Its three parts are written by three different hands,—the Gospels about the end of the fifteenth century, the Revelation after the middle, and the other part at the beginning of the sixteenth century; so that 1 John v. 7 is beyond a doubt an interpolated translation from the Vulgate. It was made probably in consequence of the doctrinal discussions about this verse in the fifteenth century, and perhaps because Erasmus had omitted it in his first edition. See Marsh, i. 337; Tregelles, pp. 213–217, where there is a fac-simile of the disputed text; Orlando T. Dobbin (*The Codex Montfort.*), who endeavours to prove

that this codex for the Acts and Epistles is a transcript of a codex in Oxford (*Lincolniensis* 2), and that, as this latter has not the verse, the writer of the Cod. Montfort. interpolated it from the Vulgate.

Scholz drew attention to another modern codex which contains the disputed verse (*Bibl. krit. Reise*, p. 105) in the Vatican (No. 298), containing the Acts and Epistles. It is quite modern, with a Latin version, and the verse is beyond question an interpolation (see Tregelles, p. 217).

(*c.*) The so-called *Codices Barberini*, which Pope Urban VIII. (1623–44) intended to have collated for a new edition of the N. T. A learned Cretan, J. M. Caryophilus (afterwards archbishop in Iconium *in partibus*, *ob.* 1635), at the Pope's command collated the readings of various MSS. with the text of the Antwerp Polyglot. His collations were deposited in the library of Cardinal Barberini in Rome. They were afterwards published by the Jesuit Peter Possinus (Poussines) as an addition to the *Catena Patrum Græcorum in Marcum*, Rome 1673. Mill adopted these various readings in his N. T. (1707). But observing that they tallied strikingly with the Vulgate, it occurred to him that the codices collated had been interpolated according to the Latin version, or (as Wetstein thought) that the entire collection was a fraud intended to confirm the Vulgate. But this was not the case. Birch found in the Vatican Library the paper in which Caryophilus asks for six Vatican MSS., giving their numbers; and five of these he found in the Vatican, and satisfied himself that Caryophilus had collated them (one of these is No. 1209, Cod. B). The collection, therefore, is not the work of a forger; but it is of no great value to us, (*a*) because the codices for this or that reading are not adequately described; and (*b*) because the excerpts are imperfect, and preference is given to those readings which coincide with the Vulgate, those differing from it being often passed by in silence.

(*d.*) With the so-called Velezian Readings the case is somewhat different. The Jesuit J. L. de la Cerda, in his *Adversariis sacris*, Leyden 1626, gives a great many, nearly

1900 various readings, which the Marquis P. Faxardo of Velez had noted in the margin of his copy of Stephens' N. T. 1550, professedly obtained from sixteen Greek MSS. These were inserted in the London Polyglot, and in the editions of Fell, Mill, and Bengel. But they so strikingly correspond with the Vulgate, that Wetstein and others suspected them; and these suspicions have been confirmed, in a very diligent, careful, and exact inquiry by Marsh, in the third appendix to his *Letters to Travis*, where he proves that these readings have been taken neither from Greek nor from Latin MSS., but from Stephens' fourth edition of the Vulgate (1540). Where the texts of both editions differ, the reading of the Latin is translated into Greek, and added as a various reading. The notion that Velez obtained these readings from sixteen Greek MSS. is a pure supposition; and whether this was given out by Velez or some one else, is not yet known.

B.—ANCIENT VERSIONS.

§ 274.

The ancient versions serve as witnesses of the form and state of the text at the time when they were made, and in the country to which they belong: strictly speaking, they reflect the Greek manuscript or manuscripts of which they are translations. Accordingly, those versions only are thus available which have been translated directly from the Greek text: those which are translations of translations serve only as witnesses of that version from which they were made. The versions which are direct translations from the Greek are the more valuable and weighty as testimonies, because they are for the most part older than the oldest of our Greek manuscripts: we can more surely tell, moreover, the country in which they were written, and can decide with greater accuracy the state of the text in the different countries in which Christianity was planted. On the other hand, the usefulness and trustworthiness of their testimony is lessened by various circumstances, and in particular by the uncertain

and unsatisfactory state of their text. The copies of these versions which have come down to us present nearly as many variations and discrepancies as the Greek codices; and only a few of them have been as thoroughly collated as the critical knowledge and apparatus now available render possible. We often find that the text of a version has in process of time undergone ecclesiastical manipulation in the Church in which it was used, either as the result of a comparison of it with the Greek text in vogue at the time, which differed from that from which it was originally made, or in order to harmonize it with some other version, *e.g.* the Vulgate or the Peschito. Interpolations have thus been adopted from the Vulgate or some later Greek text, and incorporated into the old version; so that the form of the printed editions, and of some manuscript copies, very indistinctly and untrustworthily presents the original text of the ancient version itself. This is particularly the case in passages where the true reading has been a matter of dispute, in texts having some important bearing upon controverted doctrine, or the import of which has been the subject of ecclesiastical controversy. Great caution is therefore requisite in using the ancient versions as original witnesses for the true N. T. text: we must, as best we can, critically discover the true and original text of these versions, by a careful collation of the oldest copies of them we possess, and by a consideration of their history, so far as it is known. If, for example, a version has been corrected at some time subsequent to its formation, according to the Vulgate, and we possess no available MSS. of it in its original state, and before these emendations were made, we cannot use it as an independent witness in places where it tallies with the Vulgate; and especially for readings doctrinally important, we can hardly trust it, even where it disagrees with the Vulgate. Generally speaking, versions only serve as witnesses for the Greek text from which they were originally made, in the case of readings whose variety might appear in the version itself, not (I mean) in questions of mere orthography or grammatical form which does not affect the sense,—not when the point in question is simply

the grammatical construction, the insertion or omission of the article or minor particles. In order rightly to estimate the authority of a version, and to decide to what extent it may or may not serve as a witness for the Greek text, we must know and fully estimate the character of the language in which it is made, as compared with the language of the original Greek, and likewise the general character of the version, how far it may be considered an exact translation of the words of the original, or merely a free paraphrase. Still the testimony of the ancient versions, used with judgment, is of no little weight in deciding the true form of the original N. T. text, especially when the various versions belonging to different countries coincide, and when we have no reason to suppose that they have been tampered with.

ORIENTAL VERSIONS.

1. *The Syriac Versions.*

§ 275.

Christianity was very early planted, and soon spread in Syria, and Antioch soon became the centre of missionary operations to heathen lands. Greek prevailed as a spoken language in Antioch, but in the country around the vernacular was still the Syriac; and this language prevailed beyond the Euphrates, in Mesopotamia, where Christianity seems soon to have found a footing, and where, even in the second century, we find a Syriac literature flourishing among the Christians there (cf. Hug, i. § 68). The need, accordingly, of a Syriac version of the Scriptures would soon be felt; and hence the oldest Syriac version which has come down to us.

1. The PESCHITO, which embraces both the Old Testament and the New.[1] We have no trustworthy evidence

[1] WICHELHAUS, *De N. T. vers. Syriaca antiqua quam Peschito vocant*, Halle 1850. The word ܦܫܝܛܐ signifies *simplex, simple, exact, true*; and thus the name denotes that the translation is a simple and true

concerning its origin; but it evidently belongs to a very early date, certainly to the second century. It wants four of the General Epistles (2d Peter, 2d and 3d John, Jude), and the Revelation; and with these omissions it is received and used by the different sects of Syrian Christians—the Nestorians as well as the Monophysites (cf. § 253). This leads us to the probable supposition that the Peschito had already been made, and ecclesiastically recognised, at a time when the five books omitted were not yet generally acknowledged as constituent parts of the N. T. Canon, and that the other books were translated simultaneously, not as a merely private undertaking, but at the suggestion of the Syrian Churches or their rulers. Thus only can we account for the fact that the existence and recognition of this translation led to the conclusion that the Canon was thus closed, and was not to be extended by the addition of those other books. Hug is mistaken in supposing that the five books now wanting originally formed part of the Syriac version, and were subsequently suppressed. He appeals to the fact that Ephræm Syrus (*ob.* 378), who, as we know on reliable evidence, required an interpreter in his intercourse with the Greek doctors of the Church, nevertheless made use of these books. Still it is possible that, though he could not speak Greek fluently, he understood enough of it to read it; and it is not improbable that in his time there was a privately undertaken translation into Syriac of these books, though they had not received the explicit sanction of the Syrian Church. But had these books formed part of the authorized Syriac version from the outset down to the time of Ephræm Syrus and after, we should be utterly unable to explain how it came to pass that they were afterwards excluded, at a time when their authority as canonical was established in the Church at large. These books are wanting in all extant MSS. of the Peschito (concerning the Bodleian MS., see below); and though the entire N. T. is divided into lessons, the Gospels

one. BERTHOLDT wrongly explains it as = *κοινή*, *vulgata*. The name was not given to it from the first, but was adopted subsequently, to distinguish the work from other Syriac versions.

in one set, and the Acts and Epistles in another, no reference is made to these five books, showing that, when these lectionaries were compiled in the Syrian Church, those books possessed no ecclesiastical authority. We know not whether the Peschito was made by one translator or by several; but from what has been said, we may infer that the N. T. books it contains were all translated about the same time, together with the canonical books of the O. T.

As to its character, it is, as its name intimates, a plain and faithful version, but not slavishly literal (cf. De Wette, § 11, *d*, note *a*): there is no violation of the Syriac idiom, for the sake of preserving the mode of expression and phraseology peculiar to the Greek. Its age alone suffices to make it of great value in the criticism of the N. T. text; but its importance would be still greater had we a critically collated and standard edition, which at present we have not. It first became known in Europe in 1552, through Moses, priest of Mardin, whom the Jacobite Patriarch Ignatius had sent to Pope Julius III. with letters of recommendation, and to superintend the printing of the version; and the first printed copy which had thus been undertaken by Moses of Mardin was published at Vienna in 1555, at the expense of the Emperor Ferdinand I., under the care of the Chancellor Alb. Widmanstadt. Two MSS. were used for it. It contains the N. T. according to the Peschito, in its original compass; and it wants (*a*) those five books which the Peschito omits, (*b*) 1 John v. 7, and John vii. 53–viii. 11, which were also wanting in both the MSS. used. We find the same omissions in subsequent editions, viz. in that of Tremellius (*excad.* H. Stephan. 1569), that of Trost 1621, and that of the Antwerp Polyglot 1572; and in all these the two codices were used. Later editions contain those books and verses which the Peschito originally omits. I observe concerning these as follows:—(*a.*) A Syriac version of the four Antilegomena among the General Epistles occurs in the Bodleian Codex, which also contains the three other General Epistles and the Acts. This version of the four omitted epistles was first edited by E. Pococke (Leyden 1630), and was incor-

porated into later editions of the Peschito in the Paris (1645) and the London Polyglots (5 vols. 1655); also in the editions of Gutbier (Hamb. 1664), Leusden and Schaaf (Leyden 1708, 2d ed. 1717), and in that published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1816. This version is, however, known to be of much later date than the Peschito, and of much less value. The letters are imitated with great care like the Philoxenian version. (*b.*) A translation of the Revelation was edited by L. de Dieu (Leyden 1627, 4to, reprinted in his *Critica sacra*, 1693), according to a MS. in the British Museum Library, which formerly belonged to Scaliger;[1] and this version of the Revelation was also incorporated in the Paris and London Polyglots, and into later editions of the Peschito. This codex had been written in Rome 1580, by Caspar von Aden, an Indian by birth. There is a MS. of the same translation at Florence, bearing date 1582, which the copyist describes as a transcript of that written by Thomas Charklensis, 662, who had himself probably made the translation. (*c.*) The section John vii. 53–viii. 11 was first published by L. de Dieu (*Animadversiones in* 4 *evv.*, Leyden 1633, 4to, and in his *Critica sacra*, 1693), and afterwards adopted in the London Polyglot, and in many subsequent editions. We find it in two or three MSS. of the Philoxenian version, though it does not belong properly to this. Bernstein has given this section from a still unprinted version in a Florentine codex (*Zeitschr. d. Deutschen morgenl. Gesellsch.* 1849). (*d.*) Tremellius put 1 John v. 7 in a translation of his own, in the margin, and Gutbier and Schaaf have adopted it into the text; but it has not been put in the Bible Society edition (1816). In this edition, which was edited first by Buchanan, and after his death by Lee, for the use of the Syrian Christians, Schaaf's text is used, together with two Cambridge MSS., and collations of

[1] See also P. DE LAGARDE, *Die vier Evv. Arabisch.*, Leipz. 1864, who refers to the following passage in *Scaligerana secunda* (Amsterdam 1740, p. 200): "*Ecclesia Syriaca hanc* [*Apocalypsin*] *non agnoscit, quamvis Scaliger habeat Syriacam*, que le Patriarche lui avoit envoyée, *quam Maronitæ vertendam curarunt.*"

two Bodleian; and the quotations of Ephræm Syrus and a Syriac lectionary were also compared (see Tregelles, p. 262). It contains some critical notes; and collations of other MSS. were promised, but they have not appeared. Another edition of the Peschito appeared in England in 1828, by W. Greenfield, in which the Widmanstadt text was adopted as the basis, but with vowels added, and additions from Lee's edition. A thoroughly critical edition, with a full collation of all MSS. at our command, is still a pressing want.[1]

2. Among the MSS. in the British Museum brought from the Nitrian desert there is one containing a Syriac version (before unknown) of the greater part of the Gospels—Matthew, John, Luke, and the four last verses of Mark. Tregelles considers that these fragments are not contemporary, but are older than the Peschito. Cureton published an edition of this MS. containing the Syriac text, with an English version, and notes (1858). He placed its antiquity and value very high; but though its testimony is recognised as of great weight, it is not by most scholars considered at all equal to the Peschito. See Scrivener, pp. 236–241. It is called the *Curetonian* Syriac.

§ 276.

3. The Philoxenian version was made for the Monophysite bishop of Mabug or Hierapolis, Xenaias, or Philoxenus, by the rural bishop Polycarp, who completed it in the year 508. It was revised in the year 616 by Thomas von Harkel (an unknown town in Palestine; he calls himself "the poor Thomas") in the Monastery of the Antonians at Alexandria, and after he had been driven from his bishopric in Mabug, by a Melitinian bishop, Domitian. He corrected the translation according to some Greek MSS., the various readings of which he inserted partly in the margin and partly in the

[1] Concerning the Arabic version of the Acts and Epistles, "Arabs Erpenii," made from the Peschito and the Persian version of the Gospels, see De Wette, § 12, *a*, *b*; and concerning the Arabic version of the Gospels from it, see Gildemeister's *Programm: De Evangeliis in Arabicum e simplici Syriaca translatis*, Bonn 1865.

text, with critical marks attached. Hug thinks that he also corrected the MS. by the Peschito. This Thomas is expressly named as the redactor of the Philoxenian version, in a postscript found at the end of the Gospels in all the MSS. except one at Florence, which contains the Gospels only, and was written A.D. 757, at Edessa, probably from an old copy which did not contain the corrections of Thomas.[1]

This version contains the whole of the N. T., including the four Antilegomena of the General Epistles, but not the Apocalypse. It has been supposed that the version of the Apocalypse given by L. de Dieu is the Philoxenian. But it is more probable—and this is confirmed by the postscript of the Florentine Codex—that this book was first translated into Syriac by Thomas Charklensis, who was prompted to the undertaking by the high reverence entertained for the Apocalypse by the Egyptian Church. The only edition of this version is that of F. White (*ob.* 1814),—the Gospels, published in 1778 from two MSS.; the Acts and General Epistles, 1799; the Pauline Epistles, 1803, from one MS.; these codices having been placed in the Bodleian from the library of Dr. Gl. Ridley. Wetstein had before (in 1746) spent fourteen days in collating one of these MSS. for his N. T. In White's edition the version is printed in the form it had received from Thomas of Charkel. After White's edition of the Gospels had appeared, Adler collated anew and published this part, with learned and acute dissertations, in his work, *N. T. versiones Syriacæ Simplex Philox. et Hieros. denuo examinatæ*, Copenhagen 1789, 4to. The Syriac version of St. John's Gospel was published by Bernstein in 1853,[2] from a Vatican MS. which formerly belonged to J. S. Assemani, and which contains the four Gospels, and has neither notes in the margin, nor asterisks or obeli in the text.

[1] BERNSTEIN (*Ev. Joh.* p. 25) says that the Philoxenian translation is to be found unrevised in a codex of the Bibl. Angelica in Rome, wherein that postscript is to be found evidently inserted by a later hand.—B.

[2] Cf. BERNSTEIN, *De Hharklensi N. T. translatione Syriaca comment. recognita et aucta*, Breslau 1854.

As to the character of this version (see De Wette, § 13, *a* and *c*), the Peschito evidently forms the basis of it; but it is excessively literal, so that it is hardly intelligible sometimes without a reference to the original Greek text.[1] Still, on this very account it is specially valuable in textual criticism. Considering this feature, it is very unlikely, as some have supposed, that the aim of making it was to supplant the Peschito with another and ecclesiastically sanctioned version, or (as Hug and Eichhorn think; cf. Tischendorf, N. T. ed. 7) for party aims in behalf of the Monophysites. Far more probable is it, as Bertholdt thinks, that its design was critical, like Origen's Hexapla of the LXX., to furnish the Syrian Christians with the means of discovering wherein the Peschito did not literally correspond with the Greek. Thus we may best explain the diacritic signs, asterisks, and obeli met with in the MSS. of this version, and even in the Florentine (though not in the codex of John, edited by Bernstein), which in part at least were the work of Polycarp himself. It is not likely, however, as Hug and Bertholdt think, that he adopted them from the Greek MSS. which he used: he probably introduced them himself, in order to show where his translation differed from the Peschito, and where the Peschito differed from the Greek.

As to the relation of the Philoxenian version of the four Antilegomena of the General Epistles to that published by Pococke, there is such a striking verbal coincidence between the two, that they cannot have been independent of each other; and it has been supposed with great probability that the latter is the original text of the Philoxenian version, before its revision by Thomas of Charkel.[2]

[1] *E.g.*, contrary to the spirit of the Syriac language, the Greek article is expressed by a distinct word, the personal pronoun, and compound Greek words are etymologically divided. The same Greek words are rendered by the same Syriac words, even when they stand in different connections, and when the thought intended cannot be expressed in Syriac by the same words.

[2] So De Wette, § 11, *b*; Tregelles, p. 279; Davidson. It has also been compared with one or another Syriac MS. of the Gospels in which the original Philoxenian version is supposed to be preserved.—B.

4. The Jerusalem Syriac version, or (as Assemani and Hug call it) the Palestinian Syriac. There is an *evangelistarium* in this language in the Vatican which Adler discovered and gave specimens of. It is in an Aramæan dialect—the same, according to Adler, in which the Jerusalem Talmud is written, and seemingly spoken in Palestine; at least, according to certain indications, Matt. xxvii. 27, in a country garrisoned by the Romans. The codex was written (according to a postscript attached to it) in a monastery at Antioch, A.D. 1031. Adler assigns the version to the fifth or sixth century; but it may be a later production, because it is translated from a Greek lectionarium probably of later date. It has evidently been translated direct from the Greek.[1]

2. *Æthiopic Version.*

§ 277.

Christian Churches were founded in Æthiopia or Abyssinia in the fourth century, and in the time of Constantine the Great, by two Tyrians, Frumentius and Ædesius. The former especially, who was bishop of Axum, laboured with great success for the conversion of the aborigines (see Neander, *Church Hist.* vol. ii.). The want of a translation of Holy Scripture into the vernacular of the country was soon felt, and the Æthiopic version which we now possess was doubtless made about that time.[2] Chrysostom speaks of an Æthiopic version of St. John (*Homil. in Ev. Joann.*). It was written in the dialect then prevailing, the so-called Geez language, *i.e.* the Æthiopic strictly so called, and was made directly from the Greek,[3] the O. T. from the LXX. The

[1] Akin to this version are certain palimpsests with fragments of the Gospels brought by Tischendorf in 1853 and 1859 from the East to St. Petersburg, and which he assigns to the fifth or sixth century. See his *Anecdota sacra et prof.* p. 13, with fac-simile; also N. T. ed. 7, p. ccxxx.; *Notitia ed. Cod. Sinait.* p. 49.—B.

[2] GILDEMEISTER, on the contrary, assigns it to a much later date. See TISCH. *N. T.* ed. 7, p. ccxxxv.

[3] According to GILDEMEISTER, there are in the Acts, especially ch.

story among the Æthiopians, that their version was made from the Arabic, and by one of their first preachers, Abba Salama, is certainly erroneous. The Geez language was in the fourteenth century supplanted by the Amharic as the vernacular, and since then it has been the language only of the learned or of the Church, the ecclesiastical literature of Abyssinia being still written in Geez; and the Bible is still read in this old version of it, though the people no longer understand it.

This version was printed under the superintendence of three Æthiopic priests, under Pope Paul III. (in Rome, 1548–49, 2 vols. 4to). As the codex they used had some important *lacunæ* in the Acts, the greater part of this book[1] was translated partly from the Greek, but chiefly from the Vulgate. In the other books the text was not accurately printed. The Æthiopic version in the London Polyglot was reprinted from this (1657). But as the copy translated was damaged, some passages are wanting or unreadable. The editors added a Latin translation, which is likewise faulty. A more reliable Latin version of the Æthiopic text, as it is printed in the Polyglot, was edited by Chr. A. Bode (*ob.* 1796), who collated this text with the Greek (the Gospel of Matthew, Halle 1749, with a preface by Ch. B. Michaelis; the whole N. T., Braunschw. 1753). In the form wherein it lies here, it is of but little value for N. T. criticism. A new edition was prepared, under the direction of the Bible Society, by Thomas Pell Platt, the Gospels in 1826, and the other books in 1830, for the use of the Abyssinian Christians, and not with any critical design. Several MSS. were collated for the Gospels, but only one for the Epistles, and some notes were added by the editor, but on the Gospels only, and without a complete collation (see Tregelles, p. 317 sqq.).

The author of this version was certainly an Æthiopian,

xvi.–xxiii., clear traces of a revision by comparison with the Arabic version of Erpenius, which itself had been made from the Syriac.—B.

[1] GILDEMEISTER informs me that Acts ix. 29–x. 32, and xxvii. 8 to the end of the book, has been taken from the Vulgate. The mention of Greek in the editor's statement seems to be a mere boast.—B.

and not a Greek, for many false renderings and confoundings of Greek words occur. The translation of the Gospels is the best; though even in them we often find two readings printed side by side (see Schmidt, § 213; Hug, § 98), showing that the translator used several Greek MSS. together, and compared them only partially. The version of the Pauline Epistles is merely a paraphrase.

There is a small fragment of an Amharic version—Luke xi. 1–13—in the Library at Giessen: it has probably been made from the Æthiopic version, which it closely resembles. A Latin translation of this is given by J. H. May in Schmidt's *Bibl. f. Krit. Exegese u. K.-Gesch.* i. 307. This Amharic version is not further known to us: nothing seems to be known of an older Amharic version of the N. T., so that it is a question whether there ever was such a version. A translation recently made by the English Protestant missionaries hardly can be regarded critically.

3. *Egyptian Versions.*

§ 278.

Greek was widely spread and generally spoken in Egypt from the time of Alexander the Great. The Ptolemies made it the court language. Alexandria became the main centre of Greek literature, and in Lower Egypt Greek prevailed in other towns and among the numerous Jews. Egyptian, however, still lingered in the country, especially in Upper Egypt or Thebais. Upon the fall of the Ptolemies, Greek was not wholly suppressed, at least in Alexandria and Lower Egypt; but it did not make any further way. In the interior, and in Upper Egypt especially, it lost ground before the Egyptian, which again prevailed, but which adopted into it many Greek words. Christianity at first certainly spread among Greek-speaking people, Jews and Gentiles. But it must have found converts at an early period among the Egyptians properly so called, and even in Thebais. A need therefore would be felt of a translation of the Scriptures into the national language,

so as to give these Egyptian Christians free access to them. The dialect of Egypt which then prevailed was the Coptic; and the Egyptians who abode in the country even after its conquest and the incursion of the Mohammedans—they numbered among them about 30,000 Christian families, Monophysites—were called Copts, a name which is either a corruption of *Αἴγυπτος* (so Renaudot, Quatremère), or from the celebrated commercial town Koptos in Upper Egypt. Now, and for a long time since, the prevailing language in Egypt is Arabic, and even the Coptic Christians no longer understand Coptic, not even the priests; still Coptic is retained by them as their ecclesiastical language, and the Coptic N. T. is still read in the public services: the prelector, however, repeats it in Arabic (see Niebuhr's *Beschr. v. Arabien*, p. 86).

We have several versions of the books of Scripture in various dialects of the Coptic, but two in particular must be named.

1. The dialect of Lower Egypt is called the *Memphitic;* and the version in this dialect is called *par excellence* the *Coptic,* for this was for a long time the only Egyptian version known.

2. The dialect of Upper Egypt, or the *Thebaic,* which the Arabians call the *Sahidic,* صعيدى, *i.e.* that of the hill country, and the version in this dialect is usually called the *Sahidic.*

There are MSS. of the Memphitic version of the O. and N. T. in the libraries of Rome, Paris, Oxford, Berlin, etc.; but the oldest of these cannot be placed earlier than the tenth century. They were used in textual criticism first by Mill, and with collations of the MSS. made by Th. Marshall for an edition of this version, which he projected, but was prevented accomplishing by death. The N. T. in full was afterwards published by David Wilkins (Wilke, a Prussian by birth), Oxford 1716, 4to, in compiling which he used twenty-one MSS. side by side with the Latin version. But he used not the oldest, but the latest and most interpolated MSS. as the basis of his text, so that Marshall's collations in Mill are

often more valuable and trustworthy than Wilkins' text, which blends together the readings of several MSS. very clumsily. A new and critical edition was begun by M. G. Schwartze (*ob.* 1848), the first part of which, containing the Gospels, appeared in Leipz. 1846–47, 2 vols. 4to. He only used the Berlin MSS., which are not the oldest nor the best, in addition to Wilkins' text, and added a collation of them with the Greek text. After his death Paul Böttticher completed the undertaking: *Acta apostolorum Coptice*, Halle 1852; *Epistulæ N. T. Copt.* 1852 (James, 1st and 2d Peter, 1st, 2d, and 3d John, Jude, the fourteen Pauline Epistles). This edition still leaves much to be desired, much that would be very useful in the criticism of the N. T. text. This perhaps does not apply to the edition prepared at Cairo for the Coptic Christians, by R. T. Lieder, with an Arabic version in the margin (Lond. 1847–52, 2 vols. fol.).

Of the Sahidic version we only at present know of fragments of the O. and N. T.—fragments, however, of some importance—at Oxford and in Italy (in the collection of Cardinal Borgia, *ob.* 1804). One, in particular, contains the whole of the Acts, the Epistles of John, Jude, Philippians, and others, and some of these have been printed since 1779. An old Codex in the Borgian collection is of importance: it contains fragments of John, ch. vi.–viii., in Sahidic, with the Greek text in uncials (Cod. T. of the Gospels; see § 272), published by Georgi, 1789.[1] Many other fragments of this version have been found in England, and edited chiefly by Dr. Tattam of Bedford, in his collection. They contain the Pentateuch, the historical books of the O. T., the greater part of the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles. There are other codices in Rome and Naples as yet unexamined.

As to the age of these versions, it can be proved from

[1] The following scholars have likewise treated of these fragments: WOIDE, MINGARELLI, MÜNTER, J. D. MICHAELIS, H. FORD (in his App. to WOIDE'S *Cod. Alex.*), and the Danish scholar ZOEGA (*Catal. Codd. Copt.* MSS. *qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Rome 1810, fol.), and ENGELBRETH (*Fragm. Basmurico-Coptica V. et N. T.*, Copenhagen 1811, 4to).

history that there must have existed Egyptian translations of the Scriptures at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century; for we find traces of them in the history of the Egyptian monks Antonius and Pachomius, and others belonging to that period (see Hug, i. § 91). Both the Egyptian versions we have named probably were in existence then. The Sahidic is probably the older; for in Thebes, owing to the narrower and scantier knowledge of Greek, the need of a translation would be more pressingly felt than in Lower Egypt. Its composition, therefore, should probably be assigned to the middle of the third century, and that of the Memphitic version not much later. Whether the Sahidic version was used in the composition of the Memphitic (as Bertholdt thinks, as far as the apostolic writings are concerned), cannot as yet be fully determined. In the MSS. of the Memphitic version the Epistle to the Hebrews follows 2d Thessalonians, and precedes the epistles written to individuals; in the Thebaic version it is placed between 2d Corinthians and Galatians.

Besides these two, there is a *third* Egyptian version in the Borgian collection.[1] Its dialect differs alike from the Sahidic and Memphitic, but holds, it would appear, a middle place between the two, though rather nearer the Thebaic. It cannot with certainty be determined in what part of Egypt this idiom prevailed. Besides the Sahidic and the Kust (*i.e.* the Memphitic), the Arabians name a *third* dialect, viz. the Bashmuric; and hence this third version has been called the *Bashmuric*, on the supposition that this is its language. But this is questionable. According to Quatremère's *Researches*,[2] Bashmur was a district in the east of the Delta; but the

[1] GEORGI and MÜNTER (*De indole vers. N. T. Sahidicæ*, etc., Copenhagen 1789, 4to) published fragments of 1st Corinthians simultaneously (1789), yet independently of each other; and in 1810–11, likewise independently, ZOEGA and ENGELBRETH made known the Borgian fragments subsequently found of Isaiah, St. John's Gospel, 1st Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, 1st Thessalonians, and Hebrews. ZOEGA gave the text simply, ENGELBRETH the text with a translation and notes.

[2] *Recherches crit. et hist. sur la langue et la littérature de l'Égypte*, Paris 1808.

linguistic character of this version points rather to the neighbourhood of Thebes as its birthplace. Champolion, junior, places it in the district Phajom. Hug doubts whether this version was made directly from the Greek, and independently of any other versions. He rather thinks it was made indirectly from the Thebaic; the Thebaic certainly seems to have been freely used (Hug, § 96).

Arabic translations of the Coptic version were in later times made for the Egyptian Christians who no longer knew Coptic; and there are several MSS. of the Coptic version in different libraries, containing an Arabic translation in the margin: *e.g.* there is one such copy of the four Gospels in the Paris Library (see Hug, i. § 103); and in the same place another of the Pauline Epistles, from which Hug reprinted the Epistle to Philemon. The Arabic translation of the Apocalypse in Erpenius' Arabic N. T. 1616, is probably another of these, but this is uncertain (see De Wette, § 17).

4. *The Armenian Version.*

§ 279.

The origin of this version is better known to us than that of most other old versions, through the account given by one of its compilers, Moses Chorenensis (*Historiæ Armen.* lib. iii., published in Armenian, with Latin translation and notes, by W. and G. Whiston, London 1736, 4to). Essentially agreeing with this, though less trustworthy, is a *Biography of the Saints* in the Paris Library, giving an account of Miesrob, which R. Simon had translated into Latin, and used.

Christianity was introduced into Armenia in the second century; and in the latter part of the third century, Dionysius of Alexandria wrote a work, περὶ μετανοίας, to the Armenian Christians, under the oversight of Bishop Meruzanes (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 46). Christianity was further spread in the beginning of the fourth century by the labours of Gregory the Enlightener. Towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries, Miesrob (first royal

secretary, and afterwards hermit) laboured for the diffusion of the gospel, and gave his countrymen an alphabet of thirty-six letters. Before his time, Syriac had been used as a written language, and the Syriac version of the Scriptures read. Miesrob and the Patriarch Isaac were the main forwarders of the Armenian translation of the O. and N. T. It was first translated by Isaac from the Peschito into Armenian, because they had no Greek copies of the Bible. But two pupils of Miesrob, Joseph and Eznak, who had gone to the Council of Ephesus, 431, brought thence a copy of the Greek Scriptures; whereupon Miesrob and Isaac discontinued the translation from the Syriac, and began again to translate from the Greek. But their knowledge of Greek being deficient, they sent Joseph and Eznak with Moses Chorenensis to Alexandria, to perfect themselves in the language. Upon their return the work was begun again a third time, and was now brought to completion. It thus appears that the Armenian version is a direct translation from the Greek (in the O. T. from the LXX.); but there can be no doubt that the Peschito, which before had been used by the Armenians, influenced and moulded it in no small degree, and especially in those parts which already had been translated from the Syriac. This translation would be retained as the basis, and simply tested and corrected by the Greek; still it is very doubtful whether these portions belonged to the N. T. There can, however, be no doubt that the Peschito influenced to some extent the Armenian version. Probably the Apocalypse was not translated then—it probably was not in the Ephesian copy of the Greek Testament—but was added afterwards, because the language of the version in this book differs from, and is inferior to, the language of the rest (Scholz, i. 598).

It has been supposed that the Armenian version was in the thirteenth century altered so as to harmonize it with the Vulgate. King Haitho or Haithom, who reigned 1224–70, was favourably inclined to the Roman Church, and desired a union between it and the Armenian Christians; indeed, shortly before his death, he gave up the government to his

son, and became a Roman monk. It is supposed that he emended the Armenian version by the Vulgate, and added *e.g.* 1 John v. 7; because the Patriarch of Armenia, then living, Gregory bishop of Sis, in a letter to Haitho, quotes this passage to sanction the use of water at the mass, and it was quoted and vindicated at a synod held at Sis in 1307. But the passage could only have found its way into a few MSS.; for it occurs in very few copies of the Armenian version which have come down to us: it is still more unlikely that any thorough revision of the version by comparison with the Vulgate took place then.

The Armenian version was first printed in the middle of the seventeenth century. The MSS. of the Armenian Bible were costly (a single copy would fetch 500 thalers); and accordingly a synod of Armenian bishops, held in 1662, gave directions to a priest of the monastery of Usci (who has hence been called Uscan, or Bishop Uscan) to go to Europe and superintend the printing of the work. Meeting with difficulties in Rome and in France, he went to Amsterdam, where he got the entire Armenian Bible printed in 1666, 4to, and the N. T. by itself in 1668.[1] He interpolated, however, certain passages from the Vulgate which were not in his Armenian codex, *e.g.* 1 John v. 7, John v. 4, and John vii. 53–viii. 11,—a section which is wholly wanting, or is inserted in a different connection in the Armenian MSS. After him a learned Armenian, J. Zohzab, a monk in the monastery on the island of St. Lazaro in Venice, superintended the printing of the Armenian version (*a*) in 1789, at Venice (and again 1816), collating some Armenian MSS., and adding a few notes. 1 John v. 7 is marked with an asterisk, to show that it does not belong to the version. (*b*) In 1805 a larger critical edition of the Armenian Bible, for which several MSS. were used, the variations being noted in the margin, and with short scholia in Armenian: here 1 John v. 7 is expunged, not being found in any of the

[1] Republished in 1680, small 8vo, and in 1698, 12mo, the entire Bible, according to USCAN'S edition, and with the same types, at Constantinople 1705, and at Venice 1733.

MSS. It is said that Aucher, with other monks of St. Lazaro, are preparing a new critical edition (see Tregelles, p. 311).

5. *The Georgian Version.*

§ 280.

Christianity was introduced to Georgia, or Grusia, the ancient Iberia, about A.D. 320–330. Subsequently, but not before the end of the sixth century (according to Scholz, i. 504, in the eighth century), the Georgians obtained a translation of the whole Bible from the Greek, and according to a copy made in Greece by young scholars who had acquired the necessary knowledge. According to Tregelles, it is doubtful whether this version was made from Armenian or Greek. It was printed at Moscow, 1743, fol.; but it was revised according to the Slavonian Russian Bible, and greatly altered, so that in this form it is useless for textual criticism. The same is true of the edition published at the cost of the Bible Society at Moscow, 1816.

5. *Persic Versions.*

§ 281.

There are two Persic versions known in Europe; both are of the Gospels only, and are of no critical value. The one printed in the London Polyglot is an indirect translation from the Peschito, made about the time of Mohammed, printed according to a codex of 1341, in Pococke's possession. Bode published a Latin translation of it (for Matthew and Mark), Helmst. 1751, 4to. The publication of the other was begun by Abraham Wherlocke, and was completed after his death by Pierson, London 1652–57, fol. It seems to have been made direct from the Greek. In printing it, two MSS. in Cambridge were used; but Pococke's edition was likewise used, and the readings of the two different versions confused, so that this version in its present form is unavailable for

criticism. Its composition falls rather late, perhaps in the fourteenth century. (See De Wette, § 20.)

7. *Arabic Versions.*

§ 282.

There are several Arabic versions of the N. T. books; but hitherto they have only been of subordinate use in textual criticism; for they are most of them indirect translations merely, and those which are direct have experienced considerable alteration from other ecclesiastical versions. The conquest of so many countries in Asia, Africa, and Europe, especially Spain, by the Mohammedans, led to the uprooting and dispersion of many Christian Churches; but even in places where these still kept their ground, as the Nestorian and Monophysite sects did, Arabic attained such a supremacy, that the old vernacular became an unknown tongue, even to the Christians; and hence there arose a demand for versions of the Scriptures in Arabic, made from other versions already in circulation in the Church. Arabic translations were made thus from the Peschito and the Coptic versions (§ 275, 278). [An Arabic translation of the O. and N. T. is often mentioned, which was made about the middle of the eighth century, by John bishop of Seville, from the Vulgate, because Latin was no longer understood in Spain, save only by the few. But this version is, according to Gildemeister and De Lagarde,[1] a fiction; and the statements of Spanish writers concerning it arose from a misconception. Juynboll[2] is of opinion that an Arabic codex of the Gospel (1610), found at Franeker, belonged to this version; but Gildemeister regards it as a mere copy of the Roman edition of 1590 (to be mentioned below), the text of which is a direct translation from the Greek.]

Still there are also Arabic versions, made directly from

[1] GILDEMEISTER, *De evang. in Arabicum e Simplici Syriaca translatis*, Bonn 1865, p. 44; DE LAGARDE, *Die 4 Evang. Arabisch*, p. xii. sqq.

[2] *Letterkundige Bijdragen*, ii., Leyden 1838.

the Greek at an early date, which were subsequently used by the Coptic and Syrian Christians, but which were altered in order to assimilate them to the ordinary ecclesiastical versions. Of these direct translations the following are known :—

1. A translation of the four Evang. [De Wette, § 2, *a*; Gildemeister, p. 42 sqq., note]. This was (*a*) first printed in Rome 1590–91, fol., in two forms, with or without an interlinear Latin version; republished 1619 under a new title; the Latin by Antonius Sionita. It is not known from what MS. this was made. (*b*) It was reprinted with Arabic N. T., edited by Erpenius (Leyden 1616) from a Leyden codex which had been emended by a Copt. The text of Erpenius was reprinted in the Coptic and Arabic edition of the Gospels (1829) by the London Bible Society. (*c*) In the Paris Polyglot, 1645 [not, as has often been stated since R. Simon, after the second Roman edition, but presenting an independent recension, the same as that found in Cod. Reg. 27, and Coislin 239 (Scholz, *Bibl. krit. Reise*, pp. 56, 58); cf. Gildemeister, p. 42, and procem. p. v. sqq.]. The version in the London Polyglot is printed from that in the Paris Polyglot.[1] These were once regarded as two distinct versions, but Storr (*De Evv. Arabicis*, Tüb. 1775) elaborately endeavoured to show that it is the same version, the form of which varied a little in the different copies made. This might, indeed, easily have been the case, for it was circulated among both the Syrian and the Coptic Christians, who would suggest alterations in accordance with their respective translations.

This version was made direct from the Greek,[2] and belongs

[1] [To these we must add, (*d*) the Syriac and Carshunic edition, for the use of the Maronites, by FAUSTUS NAIRON, Rome 1703, fol. (Carshunic = Arabic with Syriac characters). The Arabic text is here (according to the preface) borrowed from a MS. which MICHAEL METOSCHITA brought from Cyprus. (*e*) From another codex is that published by DE LAGARDE, *Die vier Evv. Arabisch aus der Wiener Handschrift herausgegeben*, Leipz. 1864, 8vo.]

[2] JUYNBOLL thinks that the Roman *Editio princeps*, as well as the Franeker codex, follows the Vulgate. But this, according to GILDEMEISTER, means really no more than that there are a few Latinizing headings in this edition.

to a comparatively early period, though nothing certain can be determined concerning its date. Hug thinks that it was made for the use of the Saracens in the east of Palestine, who were converted to Christianity in the second half of the fourth century under Valens.

2. A translation of the apostolic writings—the Acts, the Pauline and General Epistles, and the Apocalypse—in the Paris and London Polyglots, printed from a MS. from Aleppo. This also, judging from its character, is a direct translation, but by a different translator from that of the Gospels.[1] These versions, that of the Gospels and that of the apostolic writings, were reprinted (*a*) in the edition supervised by the Roman Propaganda, Rome 1671, fol., but with emendations borrowed from the printed Vulgate; (*β*) in the edition published by the English Missionary Society under the care of Salomo Negri, London 1727, 4to, with emendations from the Greek text.

See, concerning another Arabic translation of the Gospels found with the Pauline Epistles in a *Codex Vaticanus*, Scholz, *Bibl. krit. Reise*, pp. 117–126, and Hug, i. § 107. It differs from the printed versions, and is evidently much inferior and of later date. According to the statement made in a Greek transcript, the authors of this version seem to have been Daniel Philentolos, and his son Gabriel Philokalos of Emisa, now Hems, in Syria.

[1] [It has been inferred that this translation was made in Cyrene, from Acts ii. 10, where Cyrene is called كورتنا (*regio nostra*). But we are here to read (as *e.g.* DE LAGARDE remarks, *De N. T. ad versionum orient. fidem edendo*, Berlin 1857, 4to, p. 3) simply كورينا (Cyrene). —B.]

WESTERN VERSIONS.

8. *Latin.*[1]

§ 283.

In the Latin-speaking countries of the West, the knowledge of Greek was widely spread, particularly in Rome, and Italy generally, at least in the larger towns. But this was not so much the case in other districts,—as, for example, in proconsular Africa, and in commercial cities generally; and hence arose a demand for Latin translations of works written in Greek, which had obtained a circulation in the West. Thus a Latin translation of the work of Irenæus (*ob.* 202), *Adversus Hæreses*, was soon called for, and made probably in Africa, for we find obvious traces of its being used by Tertullian (*ob.* 220) in his writings. We can easily understand, accordingly, how, as Christianity spread in Latin-speaking lands, the want would be felt of a Latin translation of Holy Scripture for general use It is clear from what Tertullian (*De Monogamia*, c. 11) says, that in his time there was a Latin version of the N. T. in common use (*in usum exiit*), which he represents as inconsistent with the Greek original in its rendering of a certain text. It is plain from the connection that Tertullian here means a Latin version which was already generally used, and which must therefore have been made about the middle of the second century, or not long after. Tertullian, we may suppose, commonly used this version for the N. T., and it seems very probable that the old translator of Irenæus also used it (see Lachmann, *N. T.* tom. i. præf. p. x.). With still greater probability may we conclude, considering the rough and almost barbaric character of its language, that this version was made in North Africa, and not, as might have been expected, in Italy. But it was soon circulated far and wide from the land of its nativity through other Latin-speaking countries.

[1] [See FRITZSCHE, art. *Vulgata u. die Latein. Bibelübersetzungen*, in HERZOG'S *Real-Encyclop.* xvii. 422 sqq.]

It is likely, too, that the translation of the N. T. was made simultaneously with that of the O. T. from the LXX., if indeed both portions were not the work of one and the same translator. Some books of the N. T. which were not as yet fully recognised as canonical in the Latin Church—as, for instance, the Epistle to the Hebrews—would probably not be translated simultaneously with the rest; indeed, there are indications proving that they were done subsequently. It is a much disputed point, however, whether before the time of Jerome there were more than one Latin translation made. It is ordinarily thought that there were, both for the O. and N. T. But many are of opinion that, before Jerome's time, there was but *one*,[1] and that this was variously interpolated in various copies, which now present (as far as they have come down to us) many discrepancies. It tells in favour of this opinion, that the citations of texts in the various Latin writers down to the end of the fourth century strikingly coincide, both with one another and with the MSS. of the old Latin version, even in peculiarities of expression; so that we cannot suppose that the copies used came from the pens of different translators: see examples in Eichhorn, Wiseman, Lachmann. On the other hand, we certainly find great differences in the citations of texts which can hardly be accounted for simply by corruptions in the original Latin text introduced by the copyist. Augustine and Jerome, moreover, speak very decidedly and clearly of a plurality of Latin translators both of the O. and N. T. Thus Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 11, 12, referring to a certain text, speaks of different translators having given different renderings of it; see also *ib.* c. 13, 14, *interpretum numerositas*. Jerome, too, *Præfat. in Evangg.*, speaks of *vitiosis interpretibus* of the N. T., and says that there are almost as many *exemplaria* as there are *codices*,—meaning not simply many copies of the one translation, but many translations. Still more explicit is the well-known passage of Augustine's, in

[1] So SABATIER, BLANCHINUS, WETSTEIN (*Prolegg.*), SEMLER, EICHHORN (iv. 335), Cardinal N. WISEMAN (in his *Essays on Various Subjects*, vol. i. 1853), TREGELLES (p. 230), LACHMANN, and others.

his work *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 15, where, having before spoken of the *numerositas interpretum*, he says with reference to Scripture generally, both O. and N. T.: *in ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris præferatur, nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ.*

It is accordingly manifest, (*a*) that in the time of Augustine and Jerome there were various forms of the Latin version of the books of Scripture; and (*b*) that this variety was so great as really to amount to various versions by different translators, and that the Fathers I have cited regarded them in this light. If the various forms which the Latin text presented simply arose from various corruptions of *one* and the same version, it is hardly probable that they would be spoken of severally, and so distinctly separated from each other as is implied in the last-named passage, and so that one in particular (*Itala*) should be set over against the rest, and designated *Itala* to distinguish it from the others. It is not certainly in keeping with Augustine's words, when Lachmann and Wiseman explain them as referring only to the MSS. of one and the same version which were written or revised in Italy.

(*c*) At the same time, we have no reason to suppose that these various Latin versions were wholly independent of each other. Much rather must we believe that, when a Latin translation of the Greek Bible had once been completed—probably in Africa, and in the second century—it became the permanent basis of the Latin Bible. The changes, however, which it underwent were so various and so great, that these might be regarded as different translations, although strictly speaking they might with greater propriety be called different revisions of the same translation. These different versions or revisions of the Latin Bible were probably used in different parts of the West, one in one country, another in another; and the words of Augustine (*c. Faustum*, xi. 2), in which he speaks of *codicibus aliarum regionum*, show that this was the case. Thus the *Itala* of which Augustine speaks was probably that form of the translation, that version of the Latin Bible, which they

of Italy had received, which was in circulation there, and which, in Augustine's opinion, was distinguished above the original version that had come from Africa (where it was still in use), by its greater accuracy and clearness, and probably by the greater purity of its Latin. The linguistic roughness and barbarisms of the original translation were naturally disliked and objected to in Italy. Efforts were accordingly made to polish the language; and in doing this the Greek text would be referred to, and the translation revised according to it. Augustine, doubtless, had become familiar with this Italian edition of the Latin Bible in its relation to the original African version, during his residence in Rome and Milan: he thus learned to appreciate its distinctive excellences, and he calls the attention of his African fellow-countrymen to it.

§ 284.

Many remains of this *old Latin* version, in its several forms, have come down to us in the Scripture quotations of the Latin Fathers, in the *Codices Græco-Latini*, and in distinct manuscripts. All these have been sometimes included under the one title *Itala*, but this is incorrect; still we cannot with certainty say which of them belong to the *versio Itala*, in the sense in which Augustine used the word, and which to other versions or recensions of the Latin Bible.

Concerning the *Codices Græco-Latini* (*Laudianus, Cantabrig., Börner., Claromont.*), see § 270. Besides these have been published, (*a*) by Joh. Martianay, the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle of James, from a *Codex Corbeiensis*, from the old Abbey Corbey in Picardy, Paris 1694, 12mo. This is the first published codex of the Latin version. (*b*) More comprehensive is the work of Peter Sabatier (a Benedictine, *ob.* 1742), *Biblorum S. Latinæ verss. antiquæ*, etc., 1743 (ed. auct. 1749–51), 3 vols. fol., vol. iii. containing the N. T. The four Gospels are here reprinted from a *Codex Colbertinus* (now in the Paris Library), perhaps of the eleventh century; the Acts from the *Codex Laudianus;* the Pauline Epistles, including Hebrews, from the *Cod. Claro-*

montanus and *Sangermanensis;* the Epistle of James from Martianay's edition of the *Cod. Corbeiensis;* the other General Epistles from fragmentary quotations in the Fathers; the Revelation from a codex of the commentary of Primasius. Various readings from other MSS. and patristic quotations are also given. It is a very valuable work.

(*c*) Another important work is that of Jos. Blanchinus (Bianchini), *Evangeliarium quadruplex Latinæ vers. antiquæ s. vet. Italicæ*, etc., Rome 1749, 2 parts in 4 vols. fol. (at the cost of John v. king of Portugal). The four codices of the Gospels here printed are: (1.) *Cod. Vercellensis*, a very old codex at Vercelli in Piedmont, which was published in 1748 at Milan, by Irici, more accurately than by Blanchinus. It seems to have been written by Eusebius bishop of Vercelli, in the fourth century, but has many *lacunæ*. It is designated *a* by Lachmann, Tischendorf. (2.) *Veronensis* (*b*), at Verona, also very old, fourth or fifth century, but with many *lacunæ*. (3.) *Brixianus*, at Brescia in the Tyrol, which has fewer *lacunæ*, but is less ancient, belonging perhaps to the sixth century (see, concerning it, Lachmann, i. p. xiv. sqq.). (4.) The *Cod. Corbeiensis* of Matthew, already published by Martianay.

(*d*) In a purple *Codex Palatinus*, now at Vienna (brought thither since the beginning of this century, but whence is unknown), there are considerable portions of the Gospels (John and Luke almost complete, but very little of Mark) in the Old Latin version. These were first mentioned by Kopitar, 1839; then by Lachmann, i. p. xvii.; and are edited in full by Tischendorf, *Ev. Palatinum ineditum*, etc., Leipz. 1847. The writing is uncial, and the codex belongs probably to the fifth century.

(*e*) Another old codex (*Vindobonensis*) in Vienna, belonging probably to the fifth century, containing Latin fragments of Mark and Luke. Blanchinus gave some readings from it, and Alter published it in Paulus' *Repert. f. bibl. u. morgenl. Liter.* iii. 115–170, and in Paulus' *Memorabilien*, part vii. pp. 58–96.

(*f*) In an old MS., formerly in the Monastery of Bobbio

(*Cod. Bobbiensis*), now at Turin, are fragments of Matthew (circ. sixteen chapters) and Mark (circ. nine chapters), belonging also to the fifth century, which Fleck published in his *Anecdota sacra*, Leipz. 1837, but which have been more accurately and fully edited by Tischendorf in the *Wiener Jahrbb.* 1847 sq.

(*g*) In the Vatican there is an old codex (*olim Claromontanus*) containing a Latin version of the Gospels,—the latter three from the Vulgate, Matthew (with two *lacunæ* of seven chapters) in an old version before the time of Jerome. Sabatier had already compared it; but it was published by Mai, *Scriptorum vett. Nova collectio e Vaticanis codd. edita*, iii. (1828), p. 257 sq.

(*h*) At Breslau, in what was formerly called the Rhediger Library (*Cod. Rhedigerianus*), is a Latin MS. of the Gospels, probably belonging to the seventh century, with many *lacunæ* (almost the whole of John being wanting), and described by Dav. Schulz, *De cod. 4 Evv. Biblioth. Rhedigerianæ*, etc., Breslau 1814, 4to.[1]

The manuscripts of the old Latin before the time of Jerome, especially the oldest, are of great importance in the criticism of the N. T. text, because they are tolerably trustworthy witnesses for the form of the Greek text in the second and third centuries, and in the country where the translation was first made, probably in North Africa.

§ 285.

A new form was given to the Latin version about the end

[1] [In the *Monum. sacra et prof. præsertim bibl. Ambrosianæ, operâ collegii doctorum ejusdem* (vol. i. fasc. 1, ed. A. M. Ceriani, Milan 1861, 4to, pp. 1–8), there is a Latin fragment of Luke (ch. xvii.–xxi.), from a *cod. palimps.* of the sixth century, the text of which differs from the Old Latin as hitherto known, through the labours of Blanchinus and Sabatier.]

Concerning the citations from an old codex, entitled *Speculum* (of Augustine?), see Tregelles, p. 239 sq. Concerning a *Cod. Bobbiensis rescriptus*, now at Vienna, belonging perhaps to the fifth century, and containing some fragments of the Acts, see Tischendorf, N. T., ed. 7, p. ccxlv.

of the fourth century, when Damasus bishop of Rome commissioned JEROME, during his stay in the city, to undertake a revision of it,—a commission which, after some consideration, he resolved to execute. He began with a revision of the four Gospels, which he prosecuted during the years 383, 384. Jerome himself mentions this in his preface to the four Gospels, addressed to Damasus. He afterwards revised the other N. T. books,[1] though we are not told exactly when. Jerome's labour in the case of the N. T. was not a new translation, but a revision of the old one. Adopting the old Latin in the form in which it was used in Italy in the *Itala*, as the basis of his work, he corrected it, by comparing it with the Greek MSS. He set to work with great care and reserve, making alterations very sparingly, and only where the true meaning was not given in the old version, and even leaving many defects unaltered.[2] He compared especially the oldest Greek MSS., and those which he found most closely to harmonize with the text of the old Latin version.[3] Still he found much to alter in the Gospels, because the text of one Gospel was often confused and mixed up with the text of another. Damasus doubtless expected that this revision, as appointed by him, and performed by the learned Jerome, would at once obtain general recognition and acceptance. But it came into favour only by degrees. Many strenuously opposed Jerome's work as an innovation, leading to confusion and error; others still used the older version and that of Jerome side by side, as in the case of Cassiodorus (circ. 550), who even in his time compared the codices of the old translation with that of the new (*Præf. in Institut. div. litt.*). Nevertheless Jerome's version found ever-increasing acceptance; for its greater accuracy and faithfulness could not fail

[1] He says himself, *De vir. illust.* 135, *N. Test. Græcæ fidei reddidi;* and *Ep. ad Marcellam*, 102, he complains of those who preferred the old and faulty version to his new one.

[2] *Præf. in Evangg.: Ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum, quæ sensum videbantur mutare, correctis reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.*

[3] *Ibid.: Igitur hæc præsens præfatiuncula pollicetur quatuor tantum evangelia . . . codicum Græcorum emendata collatione, sed et veterum, nec qui multum a lectionis Latinæ consuetudine discrepant.*

of being felt; and we may conclude that, together with his translation of the O. T. from the Hebrew text, it was universally recognised in the Western Church in the seventh century as distinctively *the Vulgate.*

§ 286.

While it was thus more and more generally received and circulated, it became from time to time variously corrupted, partly through the carelessness of copyists, partly through intentional alterations, supposed emendations, chiefly by a blending of it with the older version, in those passages especially that were used liturgically, and were retained in the liturgical books, according to the older version. Hence there arose in the Church the consciousness of the uncertainty and corruption of the text of this ecclesiastical version, and the need of vindicating it, and establishing its authority more firmly. Attempts at revision and improvement were made at various times, by suggestions from high quarters, and under more or less express authority. This was done first about the year 802, by Alcuin, at the command of Charlemagne. An effort was made to restore the text of Jerome's version to its original purity, and this was to some extent accomplished. Alcuin's recension was at the time, and afterwards, tolerably widely received.[1] But by degrees, through the carelessness of transcribers, it again degenerated, and the necessity to improve it again began to be felt. Thus, in the eleventh century, Lanfrank, Archbishop of Canterbury, and a Cistercian monk, Stephen Harding, made this attempt. But still, in the twelfth century, Cardinal Nicolaus, at Rome, complains that he found *pæne quot codices tot exemplaria.* From the thirteenth century downwards, the so-called *correctoria* were introduced, in order to improve the text of the Latin Bible.[2] But none

[1] There are several MSS. of the Vulgate which claim to be that of Alcuin. A costly codex of the ninth century, containing both O. and N. T., which belonged to H. v. *Speier-Passavant* of Basle, was brought by him to England, and sold for £1500. It is now in the British Museum.

[2] *Correctorium biblicum* is an edition of the Vulgate which has in the

of these obtained general recognition, and there was still no generally recognised text of the Vulgate down to the fifteenth century, and even later, though this version was now beginning to be printed.

Immediately upon the invention of printing, however, the Vulgate began to be very widely spread. The Latin Bible was one of the first and most frequently printed works, and the early editions of it are among the most important specimens in the history of the art. But they are for the most part simply copies of particular MSS. which were then in circulation. The first editions are without date, probably between 1453–55. Of those which give both the place of publication and the date, the earliest is that of Mayence, in folio, 1462, printed by Johann Fust and Peter Schoiffer. Many others followed; so that before the year 1517, the printed editions of the Vulgate in Italy, France, and Germany, were 228 in number. Several of these editions gave various readings, though as yet no special pains were taken in the criticism of the text. This is first traceable in the Complutensian Polyglot, 1517, where the text is emended according to MSS. as compared with the ground text then current: the text of this edition was repeated in the Antwerp Polyglot of 1569 sq., but was not much esteemed in the Catholic Church. Among Protestants the text of the Vulgate was frequently printed according to the recension of Andreas Osiander, whose edition appeared first at Nuremberg 1522. Robert Stephens from 1528 onwards gave special attention to the Vulgate text, which he published in eight different editions. The chief of these is that in 4to, 1540, fol., wherein the text is printed almost exactly as in the

margin the various readings of the several MSS., both Latin and Greek, and likewise of the quotations occurring in the works of the older Fathers, together with notes concerning their critical value, but without the connected text of the Vulgate. These *correctoria*, which show to us the state of the text at the time, were published in the thirteenth century, and afterwards by various Church corporations: *e.g.* circ. 1230, one by the theologians of Paris, under the sanction of the Archbishop of Gaul; and another, circ. 1236, by the Dominicans at the command of their Provincial, Hugo Carensis.

Mayence edition of 1462; but in the margin are given various readings from fifteen of the oldest MSS., and from three of the printed editions. After this he published four successive and different editions. They were all repudiated in 1548 by a decision of the Paris theologians as incorrect and heretical, and were numbered among the proscribed books.

§ 287.

Seeing that there was as yet no really trustworthy and reliable text of the Vulgate, nor even a text recognised as authoritative by the Roman Catholic Church only, the Council of Trent in its fourth sitting (8th April 1546) decreed that this version should of all the Latin versions be regarded as authentic.[1] It was at the same time resolved that another and more accurate edition of the Vulgate be prepared.[2] This led the Louvain theologians, by one of their number, Johann Hentenius, to put forth an edition of the Vulgate (Louvain 1547) emended with several MSS.; and another edition was published through the efforts of Lucas Brugensis, with a further collation of MSS., at Antwerp in 1573 (3 vols. 8vo and 12mo), with a very rich collection of various readings. This edition was much used and frequently printed, but it never was publicly recognised as authoritative, chiefly on account of the various readings given. The Papacy thought, moreover, that it should reserve to itself the right of executing the decree of the Council of Trent, by preparing an edition of its own. Popes Pius IV. and V. (1559–1572) caused many MSS. of the Vulgate to be sought for and compared in different countries. The undertaking came to a stand-still under Gregory XIII. (1572–85). But his successor Sixtus V. (1585–90) resumed it with zeal, and accomplished it. He engaged the services of several scholars:

[1] . . . *Ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat.*

[2] . . . *Ut posthac sacra scriptura, potissimum vero hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quam emendissime imprimatur.*

Flaminius Nobilius, Antonio Agelli, Peter Morin, Angelo Rocca, and Carafa. He had a printing-press set up within the Vatican. The Pope reserved to himself the final decision concerning the readings to be adopted, and examined the printed sheets before they were finally struck off. According to the preface, attention was paid to the readings of the oldest and most accurate MSS. which most agreed together; but the commentaries of the Fathers and the original text, both the Hebrew and the Greek, were likewise consulted, and the version not unfrequently altered in accordance therewith. This was not certainly the way to attain what the Pope professes to aim at in the preface, viz.: *ut vulgata vetus . . . emendatissima pristinæque suæ puritati*, QUALIS PRIMUM *ab ipsius interpretis manu styloque prodierat restituta imprimatur*. The printing was completed in 1589, but the work was not published till the next year, 1590, in 3 vols. fol. A papal bull of March 1, 1589, declared the text contained in this edition to be the true, genuine, and authentic text of the Vulgate, which the Council of Trent had referred to, and pronounced an anathema upon all who should venture to alter it, threatening such with the wrath of Almighty God; commanding, moreover, that all future editions of the Vulgate should adopt and retain this text, and that all earlier editions and manuscripts which contained variations from the text of this edition, and were not emended thereby, should have no authority whatever. Yet in the face of this a number of *errata* and other mistakes were discovered before the publication of the work, and attempts were made to obviate these by erasures or corrections made with the pen, and by leaflets or small pieces of paper pasted over; but this was not done in the same manner in all copies. Sixtus V. died soon after the publication of the work (27th August 1590). His successor Urban VII. lived as Pope only twelve days. He was followed by Gregory XIV., who undertook to edit a new edition of the Vulgate, which was completed under Clement VIII. in 1592. Engaged upon this were Bellarmine, Agelli, Flaminius Nobilius, Peter Morin, and others. Not only were the *errata* discovered in the Sixtine edition corrected

(though not fully), but the Sixtine text was variously altered according to certain MSS., citations in the Fathers, the older text used in churches, and the edition of Hentenius. Nevertheless at Bellarmine's suggestion it was untruthfully asserted in the preface, that the mistakes of the former edition were merely printers' errors, and that Sixtus V. had himself intended to issue an improved edition, but was prevented by death. This edition was now set up as the only trustworthy and authoritative version, and its text has been *generally* retained in all subsequent Church editions of the Vulgate.

Sixtus V. had directed that the Scripture texts quoted in books appointed for the use of the Church—missals, etc.—should be altered according to the new edition of the Vulgate; but Clement VIII. forbade this in his bull (1604), and expressly pronounces the missals thus altered according to the later Vulgate *missalia depravata.*[1] The variations in the texts of the Sixtine and Clementine editions, both which had been supervised by Popes, and claimed alike to be the only genuine and authentic text of the Vulgate, were collected, and assailed with bitter scorn as the contradictions of two successive Popes, by Thomas James: *Bellum papale s. concordia discors Sixti* V. *et Clementis* VIII. *circa Hieronymianam editionem,* London 1600, 4to, 1678, 8vo.

A year after the appearance of his edition, Clement VIII. allowed another edition to be prepared, Rome 1593, 4to, which differed much from the preceding, and might be regarded as a new revision of the text. The monk Heinrich von Bukentop pointed out its numerous variations.[2] The Vulgate issued from the Vatican press 1598, small 4to, was a reprint of this second Clementine edition, but with several *errata* (see V. Ess, p. 373). Moret, Plantin's son-in-law, who held a place in Plantin's office at Antwerp, received from

[1] See Ess, *Gesch. d. Vulgata,* p. 342.

[2] *Lux de luce, libri tres, in quorum primo ambiguæ lectiones, in secundo variæ et dubiæ lectiones, quæ in vulg. lat. s. scr. editione occurrunt, ex originalibus linguarum textibus illustrantur . . . in tertio agitur de editione Sixti* V. *facto anno* 1590, Brussels 1710, 4to.

Clement VIII. a ten years' monopoly for the printing of the Vulgate out of Italy: his first issue appeared Antw. 1599, 4to and 8vo, and went through nine editions, the last in 1650, 4to. The Papal letter prescribed that this issue should be an exact reprint of the Vatican edition, but it variously differs therefrom, as Bukentop has shown.[1]

From the account now given, it is evident that these Roman Catholic editions are not calculated to give us the text of Jerome's version in the correctest form, or as closely in the original form of it as is possible. The Clementine does this even less than the Sixtine edition, because in it much was altered into keeping with the received text, and not according to the oldest MSS.

§ 288.

Much more has been done towards discovering and restoring the original text from the MSS. in the edition of the Vulgate, in the edition of Jerome's works by Martianay (1693, vol. i.), and by Valtarsi and Maffei (1734, vols. ix. and x.); and still more in the present day. We possess some very old and valuable MSS. of this version, two of which are specially to be noted.

(*a.*) *Codex Amiatinus,* containing the whole Bible, formerly in the Library of the Cistercian Monastery on Monte Amiatino in Tuscany, now in the Lorenzo Medici Library at

[1] For the history of this version, see LEANDER VON ESS, *Pragmat.-krit. Gesch. d. Vulg.*, Tüb. 1824. [Also *Variæ lectiones vulgatæ latinæ Bibl. editionis quas* Ç. VERCELLONE *digessit*, tom. i. and ii., Rome 1860-62, 4to, where, in the *Prolegg.*, tom. i. pp. xvii.–lxxii., there is a history of the origin of the Clementine Vulgate by UNGARELLI.] V. Ess also edited a small copy of the Vulgate (part iii. containing the N. T., Tüb. 1822, parts i. and ii. the O. T. 1824). It gives the Clementine text of 1592, with corrections of obvious *errata*, and with a list of the variations in the edd. of 1590, 1593, 1598.

[The latest edition of the Papal Vulgate is that of VERCELLONI: *Biblia sacra vulgatæ editionis Sixti* V. *et Clementis* VIII. *Pontt. max. jussu recognita atque edita, Romæ, typis S. Congreg. de propag. fide, a.* 1861, pp. xxiv. and 839. Here the edition of 1592 forms the basis text; but this has received corrections from the editions of 1593 and 1598, and the emendations of ANGELO ROCCA and others.

Florence. It belongs to the sixth century, and was written circ. 541 by the Abbot Servandus. The codex was used, among others for the Sixtine edition, but its importance was not sufficiently estimated. Fleck examined it with reference to the N. T., and published its variations from the text of the Clementine edition together with this text, Leipz. 1840; but his collation of it is not trustworthy. Tischendorf has more thoroughly collated the N. T. portion, and published it with a fac-simile, Leipz. 1850. Tregelles also has examined it, and adopts it as the basis of the Latin version in his ed. of the N. T.

(*b.*) *Codex Fuldensis*, in the Abbey of Fulda. It contains the whole N. T., and was written in 546 by command of Bishop Victor of Capua, who himself corrected it with the MSS. used. It has been carefully examined by Lachmann and Buttmann, and adopted as the basis of the Vulgate text in their larger edition of the N. T. The Gospels are arranged in a Harmony in this codex, and this portion of it is therefore less valuable than the rest, though even here very important.[1]

The high antiquity of these MSS. of the Vulgate renders it very probable that we have in them the text in its original form, and, upon the whole, pretty much as Jerome left it. This version, accordingly, is to be esteemed as one of the weightiest testimonies for the N. T. text, and in particular, for its form in the MSS. which Jerome used.[2]

[1] [Cf. E. RANKE, *Specimen Cod. N. T. Fuldensis*, Marburg 1860, 4to.] For lists of other old codices of the Vulgate, see TISCHENDORF, *Prolegg. N. T.* ed. 7; also the *Prolegg.* to VERCELLONI'S *Variæ Lectiones, et alia.* I mention here further, only the *Codex Forojuliensis* at Friaul (*Forum Julii*), formerly at Aquileia, containing the Gospels; published by BLANCHINUS as an appendix to vol. ii. of his *Evangeliarium quadruplex.* Mark's Gospel was wanting, but is now found, part of it in Prague, part in Venice, though very much injured by damp. The one portion came to Prague 1354 as a present of the Emperor CHARLES IV., who had begged it from Aquileia as professedly a Latin autograph of St. Mark; the other portion he sent to Venice, upon the same supposition, in the year 1420. The part at Prague (Mark xii.–xvi.) was published by DOBROWSKY, Prag 1778; see MICHAELIS, *Einl.* ii. 1074. [TISCHENDORF'S edition of the Vulgate; see § 302.]

[2] The Anglo-Saxon version may be regarded as an offshoot of the Old

9. *Slavonic Version.*

§ 289.

Among the Slavonic tribes which had been under Grecian dominion since the sixth century, Christianity obtained a footing at the end of the eighth century; and among those beyond Greek dominion, in Moravia and the neighbouring districts, at the end of the ninth century, by means of two brothers, the Greek monks Cyrillus and Methodius. These missionaries gave the Slavonians an alphabet and a version of the Bible in their language in the year 960. This version was made from the Greek, but possibly the Latin version influenced it, because these brothers were afterwards in close communication with the Pope and the Romish Church in behalf of the Slavonic Church; and by a decree of Pope John VIII. in the year 880, the Gospel was to be read in Moravia, first in Latin, and afterwards in Slavonic. This version was critically examined by Dobrowsky in Michaelis' *neuer orient. u. exeget. Biblioth.* vii. 155, and in a *Zeitschrift Slovanca zur Kentniss der Slavischen Literatur*, Prag 1815. Griesbach obtained from Dobrowsky readings from many Slavonic MSS. of the N. T. for the second edition of his N. T. Muralt has also collated two MSS. of this version for his edition of the N. T. according to the *Codex Vaticanus*, 1848.

10. *Gothic Version.*

§ 290.

The Goths became acquainted with Christianity after their inroads into the East Roman empire, in the beginning of the third century, partly through the instrumentality of Christian captives. Christianity made still further advance among them, but mainly in the form of Arianism, in the latter half of the fourth century, under Valens. Ulfilas (Vulfilas),

Latin before Jerome's time. The four Gospels in that version were first printed by MATT. PARKER, Lond. 1571, 4to, and frequently since then; of late by BENJ. THORPE, Lond. 1842, 8vo.

bishop of the Goths from 348, belonged to a Roman family living among the Goths in Cappadocia (*ob.* 388). He gave them a translation of the Bible, introducing thus among them a written language, the basis of which was the Germanic, and which he constructed by using the Greek alphabet.[1] We have testimonies concerning the existence of this version down to the ninth century; for about this time Walafried Strabo refers to it: we find no mention of it afterwards till the sixteenth century. Down to the beginning of the present century, the only known MSS. of it were the Gospels, in the *Cod. Argenteus*, and fragments of the Epistle to the Romans, in a Wolfenbüttel MS. (*a*) That of the Gospels is a MS. with *lacunæ* here and there, written in silver and gold letters, on purple vellum. The Gospels are arranged as in the *Itala*—Matthew, John, Luke, Mark (cf. § 18). It is supposed to be 1000 years old. It was found in the middle of the seventeenth century, in the Abbey of Werden,[2] whence it was brought to Prague, and soon after 1648 taken by the Swedes and transferred to Stockholm. After this it was for some time in the possession of Isaac Vossius, and then again was conveyed to Upsala. (*b*) In a *codex rescriptus* in the Wolfenbüttel Library (see § 272, No. 1), the washed-out writing underneath contains, among other things, a fragment of the Epistle to the Romans, in this version, with a Latin version on the side. It was deciphered and published first by Knittel, Braunschw. 1762. The Latin version was given by Tischendorf, in his *Anecdota*, p. 153, ed. 1. It contains portions of Rom. xi.–xv., forty-two verses in all. Both MSS., that of the Gospels and that of the Romans,

[1] WAITZ, *üb. d. Leben u. d. Lehre d. Ulfilas*, Hanover 1840; KRAFFT, *K. Gesch. d. german. Völker*, i. 1, Berlin 1854.

[2] From later inquiries, it appears that this MS. had before this been at Prague, where RICHARD STREINIUS (*ob.* 1601) saw it; see GABELENTZ and LÖBE'S edition, *Prolegg.* pp. 30, 31, n. It is assigned to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. The Gospels in Gothic have been published according to this codex, first by F. JUNIUS and T. MARESCHALLUS, Dortrecht 1665, 4to (Amst. 1684); then by STIERNHJELM, Stockh. 1671, 4to; LYE, Oxford 1750, 4to; and last by UPPSTRÖM.

were edited and published by J. Chr. Zahn, *Ulfilas Gothische Bibelübers.*, etc., Weissenfels 1805, 4to.

In the year 1817, Angelo Mai discovered five *codices rescriptos* in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, the washed-out writing underneath being fragments of the Gothic version. (*a*) A MS. of the homilies of Gregory the Great upon Ezekiel, under which are the important remains of the Pauline Epistles in Gothic (excepting 2d Thessalonians and Hebrews), side by side with a Gothic calendar. (*b*) A MS. of Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah, about the ninth century, under which are fragments of the Pauline Epistles in Gothic (omitting Romans, Philemon, and Hebrews). (*c*) Among some fragments of a Latin version of Matthew, two fragments of a Gothic version of Matt. xxii.–xxvii. (*d*) In another codex, some fragments of a Gothic version of the O. T. (Ezra and Nehemiah). (*e*) A fifth codex (some portions of which have been found in the Vatican as well as in the Ambrosian Library) contains a Gothic exposition of St. John's Gospel = *Skeireins* (according to Massmann, who edited this with a Latin version and a Gothic-Latin dictionary, 1834, from the Greek), and a translation of several parts of this Gospel, also quotations from the other Gospels; also Heb. ix. 13, 14, Num. xix. 2–10.

Count Carl Oct. Castiglione (Castillionæus) took interest in these discoveries of Mai's, and together with Mai published a specimen, with further information concerning the discovery (*Ulphilæ Partium inedit. specimen*, 1819); and after Mai's departure to Rome, he undertook the collation of the whole; 2d Corinthians, 1829; fragments of Romans, 1st Corinthians, Ephesians, 1834; fragments of Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1st Thessalonians, 1835; fragments of 2d Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon, 1839.[1]

[1] These have been collected in H. C. GABELENTZ and J. LÖBE'S edition of the Gothic version, 2 vols. 1836–46. Vol. i. contains the Gothic text with Latin translation, and vol. ii. a Gothic grammar and lexicon. The editors collated anew the *Codex Argenteus*, and confirmed Castiglione's opinions concerning the Ambrosian fragments. The reprint of this by IGN. GAUGENGIGL, Passau 1848, is very slovenly. That of F. L. STAMM,

Some earlier scholars (see Michaelis, p. 498) have raised a doubt whether this version is not rather Frankish. But Hug, § 134, has demonstrated beyond a doubt that it is Gothic. An old document in this language, found at Naples, decidedly confirms this; and so does the fragment found in the Milan palimpsest, of a calendar in Gothic, which names in particular Gothic martyrs belonging to the Fatherland. The language in these memorials belongs to the Germanic and Scandinavian stock; but many Greek and Latin, and even Slavonic words, have been introduced.

Several things seem to indicate the influence of the Latin upon this version. There are not a few Latin words; and the order of the Gospels in the *Codex Argenteus* corresponds with the Vulgate. Again, the version does not seem, originally at least, to have contained the Epistle to the Hebrews. Other circumstances, however, clearly show that it was originally made directly from Greek MSS. (cf. De Wette, § 22, *b*, notes *d*, *f*; Hug, § 140), and that it has since been interpolated from Latin MSS. by Gothic theologians in Italy; and this is the opinion of Gabelentz and Löbe. The version is distinguished throughout by great literalness, even greater than the Peschito. The apparent absence of the Epistle to the Hebrews from the early copies cannot have arisen, as some suppose, from the Arian tinge of thought which distinguished Ulfilas and the Gothic Christians generally.

Ulfilas oder die uns erhaltenen Denkmäler der Goth. Sprache—text, grammar, and lexicon—Paderb. 1858, is better. MASSMANN, *Ulfilas, die heil. Schriften A. u. N. B. in Goth. Sprache*, with the Greek and Latin text, notes, lexicon, history of the language, and historical introduction, Stuttg. 1857. Goth. glossary, by ERNST SCHULZE, with preface by JAC. GRIMM, Magdeb. 1848, 4to. An accurate reprint of the *Cod. Argenteus*, collated by ANDR. UPPSTRÖM, has been published, Upsala 1854, 4to, with supplement (*Decem cod. argentei redivivâ folia*), 1857; and GABELENTZ and LÖBE have issued a critique of this work, *Uppströms Cod. Argenteus*, Lpz. 1860. UPPSTRÖM has also published *Fragmenta Goth. selecta ad fidem Codd. Ambros., Carolini, Vaticani*, 1861. This contains the fragment from Matt. xxv.–xxvii., the Wolfenb. fragments of Rom. xi.–xv., and the Exposition of St. John's Gospel. See also ERNST BERNHARDT, *Krit. Untersuchungen über die Goth. Bibelübersetzung*, Meiningen 1864.

C.—TESTIMONIES OF EARLY WRITERS.

§ 291.

The third class of witnesses for the N. T. text are the citations from the Greek N. T., and the statements made by early writers; I mean Christian writers, for it is only their statements which call for consideration here. Like the old versions and the Greek MSS. which have come down to us, they are direct witnesses, not for the original text as it lay in the *autographa*, but for its condition in their own time and country, and in the MSS. which they used and were familiar with; though also, so far as these MSS. belonged to an earlier age, for the times before them likewise. The testimonies of these ecclesiastical writers have this advantage over the other sources of information to which we have referred, that we know definitely the time to which they severally belong. But in other respects they are of inferior importance, and more uncertain. First of all we discover, not without regret, that early writers for the most part quote from memory, and usually in a very free manner. Thus it is with most of the patristic quotations. To turn up and refer to the actual text for the passages quoted, was in early times a very troublesome work, on account of the form of the MSS., which were in rolls. Less importance, moreover, was then attached to the *ipsissima verba* of a quotation: to give the sense or the thought was all that was aimed at; and they were not so anxiously scrupulous about the words. In the patristic citations, therefore, we are not always justified in supposing that the words of any passage ran exactly in the MS. as the writer gives them. Very few N. T. citations occur in the earliest of these writings, though there are many references to the contents of the N. T., and especially of the Gospels; and the accounts of two or more evangelists are often blended into one. This we find, for example, especially in Justin Martyr. But even when direct quotations occur, they are seldom accurately given; but words from similar passages elsewhere are interpolated, particularly

in quotations from the Gospels. Least of all can any stress be laid upon variations in the arrangement of words, conjunctions, and forms of transition, as given in these citations; for these are often left out or altered, when the passage is separated from its connection. In order rightly to estimate the testimony of any citation in the Fathers, we must take into account its character, and the general habit of the writer in quoting Scripture. Generally speaking, when a writer quotes a long passage, it is probable that he gives it *verbatim*—that he has looked out for the passage in the original MS., and has copied it; and the more so when he is treating of the text exegetically or doctrinally, as in the exegetical works of the Fathers, and in other of their writings in which the N. T. is appealed to directly in support of their doctrinal views, and polemically to controvert their opponents.

In these cases we often find various readings in the MSS. distinctly specified and vindicated as true, in distinction from others which are pronounced spurious; and this shows that even then there were various readings in the several MSS., and that these MSS. were often closely related to each other. Finally, if a writer quotes the same text at different times, and in different treatises, in the same manner, and with the same characteristic readings, we may conclude that he found it thus in the MSS. of his age; and still more certain may we be of this, when different writers in different places give a text in exactly the same words. These remarks refer, of course, to Greek writers only. Others, and especially the Syrian and Latin writers generally, quote from the version of the N. T. in use in their own country; and hence they must be looked upon as witnesses for the text of that version, though also in part for the Greek text, when they specially refer to this, or lay stress upon its readings, as *e.g.* Jerome often does. Erasmus made use of the quotations of the N. T. in the Fathers for his edition of the N. T., and adopted many readings on the strength of their authority; and a similar method has been followed by Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles.

Matthäi has expressed himself most strongly and decidedly against the value of this patristic testimony. Still, if used with care, it is always of importance. It is a misfortune that the text of the writings of the Fathers itself is, in the editions we have of them, by no means critically settled and ascertained. It often happens that later transcribers, *e.g.* of Chrysostom and others, have altered the text of N. T. passages quoted according to the later and more familiar text. When the MSS. and the editions of the Fathers present the greatest differences, we have most reason to suppose that the reading which differs from the later and more common text of the N. T. is the true one.

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§ 292.

Comparing these various witnesses for the *N. T.* text with each other, we find that they present many variations, not indeed for the most part such as seriously affect the sense, but many by no means unimportant variations,—and more numerous far than those presented in the various Hebrew MSS. of the *O. T.*, when compared together or with the old versions, excepting only the LXX. We find that there was by no means the same amount of anxious care and pains taken in the early Christian Church to preserve and hand on the text of the *New* Testament books, word for word in its original form, as was taken by the Jewish writers and theologians with reference to the text of the *Old* Testament books from the time when these writings were united in the O. T. Canon. This striking difference is in keeping with the contrast between the more strict and legal spirit of Judaism, especially in its later form, and the freer and broader spirit of the gospel. As to the relation to each other of the various witnesses for the N. T. text, they present so great a manifoldness that there are hardly two who thoroughly and throughout agree as to the N. T. text; nor are there any two Greek manuscripts which perfectly coincide, not even when the one is a transcript of the other, as the *Cod. Sangermanensis* (E) is of the *Codex Claromontanus* (D),

and still less when they do not hold this close relationship to each other; nor are there any two ancient versions that perfectly agree; nor a Greek codex which is one with an old version: still less do any two ecclesiastical writers coincide in the text of those N. T. citations which they have in common, nor any one of them with any Greek codex or ancient version. Still we might expect that, among these various witnesses, some stand nearer each other in the text they present than do others; and that among these, again, some stand in the same relation to one another. This has often been supposed; and attempts have been made to classify the various witnesses, taking those together that agree in certain readings, and that present, when compared together, the same characteristics and form of text. The first who applied himself to this comparison and classification was Bengel.[1] He calls a class of testimonies which present affinities when compared together, a *family*; and of these *families* he names two: (*a*) the African, the representative of which he takes to be the *Codex Alexandrinus*, and in which he includes the Latin, the Æthiopic, and Coptic versions; and (*b*) the Asiatic, among which he reckons the more modern MSS. Semler[2] adopted the same plan, and was the first who gave to these kindred forms of the N. T. text the name of *recensions*. Griesbach retained the title, and dealt with the subject with great thoroughness.[3] He distinguishes three main recensions, and endeavours to classify the various testimonies accordingly, though he has not kept to this division consistently throughout. His classes are the Alexandrine, the Western, and the Byzantine.

(*a*.) The *Alexandrine Recension*, which began in Alexandria (and was formed by the collectors of the N. T. Canon) and spread over Egypt and the East. It is distinguished by the circumstance, that in it Hebraisms and other rough-

[1] In his *N. T.* (*Introductio in crisin N. T.* § 26 sqq., and *Fundamenta criseos Apocalypseos*, § 9, 12) and in other works.

[2] *Hermeneut. Vorbereitung*, Stuck 3 (1765), *Vorrede*, p. 4 sqq.; Stuck 4, p. 2 sqq.

[3] *Prolegg. in ed. N. T.* sec. iii., and in other works.

nesses and incorrectnesses in the language of the N. T. are expunged. (*b.*) The *Western Recension*, which has left untouched the Hebraistic character of the language, but has admitted many changes serving to explain the text, glosses interpolated, additions from parallel passages, etc., "*Grammaticum egit Alexandrinus censor, interpretem occidentalis.*" (*c.*) The *Byzantine Recension*, which followed the two others, and blended their distinctive features, bringing them more fully into view. To this class belong the *Codices Græco-Latini*, the Latin Fathers, the old Latin versions before Jerome, but also the Sahidic and Jerusalem-Syrian versions; modern MSS. in general, and Cod. A for the Gospels. He attributes to some, *e.g.* to Chrysostom and the Peschito, a text wherein these three different recensions are blended.

Griesbach's system of recensions was highly thought of in its time, but was bitterly opposed, especially by Matthäi. It must be allowed that, even if we admit in general different classes or families, Griesbach's division and account of the matter is very improbable. That the Sahidic, for example, and the Jerusalem-Syriac versions should be classed among the Western recensions, while the Peschito, which so closely corresponds to these, and is one of the oldest MSS., should belong to another recension; and that Codex A for the Gospels should belong to the Byzantine, and Codex A for the Pauline Epistles to the Alexandrine recension,—all this is very improbable.

§ 293.

Hug represents the matter somewhat differently. He aims, like Griesbach, at a complete history of the text, derived from the witnesses, direct and indirect, which have come down to us. He distinguishes between a first period, which continues down to the middle of the third century, during which the text was unrevised and there were no recensions, and a second period following thereupon of recensions or revisions. But his system is in several respects untenable, unproveable, or erroneous. He thinks that the text had experienced great changes, and was greatly dete-

riorated by the middle of the third century, especially in consequence of the endeavours made to bring the idiom of the N. T. books more into harmony with the prevailing Greek idiom, to make what seemed dark and confused intelligible; and that during this period no attempt was made by any one properly to revise the text. He calls the text in this deteriorated form κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, *vulgata editio*, the name which Jerome had used for the unrevised text of the LXX. as distinguished from the Hexapla (*Einl. i. A. T.* § 344),—a term, moreover, not uncommon among the Alexandrine philologists to denote the old text of Homer in contrast with the form afterwards given it by the διόρθωσις of Aristarchus, Zenodotus, and others, and which Jerome also used for the earlier text of the Latin version of the Bible. In this confused and deteriorated form the N. T. text continued (according to Hug) down to the middle of the third century, when many in different countries were constrained to make a revision of it: (*a*) Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop; (*b*) Lucian, presbyter of Antioch; and (*c*) Origen. The recensions completed by these scholars were, as Hug thinks, circulated in various countries, so that the witnesses which have come down to us belong either to one or other of these three recensions, or to the previous unrevised and deteriorated text. For the manner in which Hug divides the several witnesses, and the classes to which he severally assigns them, see De Wette, § 39.

Griesbach himself has criticised this theory of Hug's, which Hug had worked out without even mentioning Griesbach, and compares it with his own in his last work, *Meletemata de vetustis textus recensionibus*, ii. pp. 41–68 (prefixed to the second part of his *Commentarius Criticus in textum Gr. N. T.*, Jena 1811). I observe (*a*) that the witnesses which Hug reckons as belonging to the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις are essentially the same with those ascribed by Griesbach to his Western recensions: both reckon the *Codices Græci-Latini* as the main witnesses, together with the old Latin versions and the Sahidic; Hug adds only the Peschito, Clemens Alex., and Origen. It must be acknowledged that Griesbach's desig-

nation of this form of the text as *Western* is inappropriate, judging even from the description he himself gives of it; and that, viewing it as he represents, it is less conceivable than in Hug's representation, for he includes Eastern as well as Western witnesses—those of Upper Egypt and Syria—in it. This form of the text, according to Hug, was matured not primarily in the West, but in the East; and in the West only subsequently, when already several recensions for its emendation were begun. (*b*) As to Hug's system of recensions, his assumption of one made by Origen is quite untenable. Origen himself (*in* Matt. xix. 19) speaks of his critical labours upon the O. T. text (the LXX.). In the Greek text of his works here, it is clear from the connection that he had not undertaken a like labour upon the N. T.; and in the Latin translation it is expressly added, *in exemplaribus autem N. T. hoc ipsum me posse facere sine periculo non putavi*, which, though it may be an addition made by the old translator, nevertheless clearly shows that no work of this kind by Origen was known to this translator, nor indeed to Eusebius, who gives so full an account of Origen's labours, and would not certainly have passed over in silence such a work if he had known of it. Add to this, that the witnesses which Hug cites for this recension are not of such a character as to warrant their being classified by themselves as presenting a special form of the text in contrast with others,—as Griesbach proved, and Hug himself in his second edition to a certain extent admits. (*c*) As to Hug's other recensions, the witnesses which he refers to as belonging to the Hesychian recension coincide essentially with those of Griesbach's Alexandrine recension; and those, again, which he classifies for the Lucian recension with those of Griesbach's Byzantine recension. As to the men whose names Hug has given to these recensions, we know that both of them made recensions of the LXX.; and that, according to Jerome (*Præf. in Paralip.*), in his time the edition of Hesychius was generally used in Alexandria and Egypt, and that of Lucian from Constantinople to Antioch. Both seem to have prepared recensions of the New Testament text likewise, though

Scholz (*Bibl. Einl.* i. 634) and Tregelles will not allow this. But in proof of this, are (*a*) the statement of Jerome, *Præf. in Evangg.*, which certainly seems to imply it, where, in reference to his revision of the Latin version of the N. T. according to the Greek MSS., he says that he passes over the *codices* named after Lucian and Hesychius, *quibus utique nec in toto Veteri Instrumento post* LXX. *interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit emendasse; quum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat, falsa esse, quæ addita sunt;* and (*b*) *Decretum Gelasii*, c. 6, Nos. 14, 15: *Evangelia, quæ falsavit Lucianus apocrypha; Evangelia, quæ falsavit Hesychius apocrypha.* These statements do not suffer us to doubt that both these men prepared special editions of the N. T., at least of the Gospels, which were distinguished above other MSS. by additions, and which were extant in the time of Jerome and Gelasius I. But the statements of these writers lead us further to infer that these editions were circulated in but few copies, easily discernible, that they had but small acceptance in the Church, and were soon rejected. Jerome, *in loc.*: *quos* (*codices*) . . . *paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio;* cf. also *De vir. illustr.* c. 77: *ut usque nunc quædam exemplaria* (*scripturarum*) *Lucianea nuncupentur.* Hence it is altogether unlikely that the recensions of these men were so widely spread in the Church, and exerted such an influence upon the witnesses that have come down to us, as Hug thinks, and as before him Semler (in *Wetstenii libelli ad crisin atque interpr. N. T.*, etc., pp. 83, 177), and after him Eichhorn (iv. 275–304), suppose, attributing to both Hesychius and Lucian, and their editions, a far more weighty part in the criticism of the N. T. text than they deserve.

§ 294.

Some truth certainly lies at the foundation of both Hug's and Griesbach's theory, but in particulars they are either quite untenable or at least very uncertain. The inquiry concerning the relation in which the several witnesses stand to each other may now be prosecuted with greater clearness and

certainty, because many of them are now known in their true character. But the inquiry is very tiresome and difficult, and the results arrived at can only lay claim to a certain degree of probability. The opinions which I am led to entertain on the subject from the facts at command, are as follows:—

(*a.*) It cannot be doubted that the text of the N. T. books even in the first centuries, after they had obtained a canonical standing, experienced many changes at the hands of copyists, just as was the case with other ancient writings, so long as they were perpetuated in manuscripts, the several MSS. not retaining identity of form. These corruptions or variations of the original text arose for the most part either from inattention and carelessness, from mistakes in writing or in reading—words that were written with similar letters, or which otherwise resemble each other, or are similarly contracted, being confounded together—or through the omission of single words, or sets of words, which might easily happen in the case of an *Homoioteleuton*, where the eye of the writer might easily wander from the end of one sentence or line to the similar ending of another. Transpositions, too, of words or sentences might take place in other ways: if, for example, in the copy used, something had been originally omitted and afterwards inserted in the margin, the new copyist might insert it in the text, but in the wrong place. Mistakes like these occur in the manuscripts of the N. T. books more frequently than in those of other ancient writers, simply because they were so much more frequently copied; and there were often so many more intermediate links between the original autograph and the copy, the mistakes of earlier copyists being thus transmitted and retained, while other new ones would creep in. In other cases, again, the corruption of the text would arise through the well-intentioned effort to improve and correct the copy which had been received, or to make it more intelligible or clear, *e.g.* by the rejection of roughnesses, inaccuracies, unclassical expressions, which were numerous in the N. T. books, in the style, grammatical forms and constructions, and forms of words (cf. De Wette, § 36, *b*,

note *a*); or by the adoption of glosses which had previously been written perhaps only in the margin, for the sake of explaining difficult expressions, but which were now incorporated into the text by a subsequent copyist, either in place of the original reading, or side by side with it; or, again, by setting aside and omitting seemingly or really difficult readings, through historical or other considerations, by alteration or enlargement from parallel passages, *e.g.* especially in the Synoptics, putting into one Gospel something borrowed from the similar narrative of another, particularly when the two accounts did not seem to harmonize. In this case, the higher the translator's reverence for the book he was translating, the more likely would he be to take it for granted that the contradiction must have arisen through the mistake of a transcriber, and that he was justified in emending it in harmony with the other account; and thus the text of one Gospel would be interpolated according to that of another. Concerning omissions and additions at the beginning of Church Lessons, see § 268, No. 6. It was also the case that the copyist would himself attempt to correct *errata* in the MSS. he used, not only by comparison with other and more accurate MSS., but from mere conjecture of his own, and therefore possibly wrongly. See, for example, how strongly Origen expresses himself regarding the want of uniformity in the text of the Gospels, and the causes of this, *in* Matt. xix. 19 (tom. xv. c. 14): *Νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορὰ, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων.* Cf. De Wette, § 35, note *a*.

§ 295.

(*b*.) We have already seen how, among the heretical sects, Marcion and the Marcionites went to work with reference to the N. T. Canon. We cannot take the case of the Gospels, because they did not profess that their Gospel was that of St. Luke, but they dealt most arbitrarily with the text of the Pauline Epistles. The orthodox doctors of the Church are

quite free from such arbitrariness, and it cannot be proved with any approach to truth that they ever altered the text of a passage from doctrinal considerations. But when various readings presented themselves, dogmatic considerations were brought in to decide; and these would in time make one reading more general than another, though it might not at the outset have any greater probability of correctness. Thus it often came to pass that, in passages doctrinally important, the readings adopted by the more eminent Fathers were of special weight; and though before they only existed side by side with others, they gradually became more widespread than otherwise they would have been. What chiefly led the Fathers, however, to give attention to the N. T. text, were the controversies in which they had to engage with heretics; and we have evidence of this as early as the end of the second century: Irenæus, *Hær.* iv. 6, 1 [iv. 14, ed. Grabe]; Tertullian, *De carne Christi*, 19. At first this had reference only to single texts in which the reading was thought to be of doctrinal importance: it did not concern the books generally before the third century, and chiefly perhaps in Alexandria. Here was the main centre for the issue of MSS. of the Greek N. T., and from this place they spread into other countries even in the West. Copies were made also in other places; *e.g.* Eusebius of Cæsarea had fifty copies of the N. T. made by Constantine's direction for the churches in Constantinople (see § 268, No. 2), and these were probably written in Cæsarea itself. Stress was therefore laid upon the form of the text in the exegetical and other works of the more eminent Fathers, and in the manuscripts used by them. Thus the MSS. of Adamantius, *i.e.* of Origen, are mentioned by Jerome;[1] the reference clearly being not to a complete recension of the text by Origen himself, but to MSS. used by him. In the same way, we must understand what Jerome says, *ad Matt.* xxiv. 36, where he joins the *codices Pierii* with those of Origen,—Pierius

[1] *Ad Matt.* xxiv. 36: *In quibusdam latinis codicibus additum est "neque filius;" quum in græcis, et maxime Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus hoc non habeatur adscriptum. Ad Gal.* iii. 1: *Hoc, quia in exemplaribus Adamantii non habetur, omissimus.*

being a distinguished exegesist of the Alexandrine school about the end of the third century. Reference is also made in Greek MSS. to a copy in the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea, from which the text of the N. T. books had been copied. Still the various Greek MSS. of the N. T. in various countries have never presented identity of text. We find this more nearly approached in after times in the seventh century, when Egypt was overrun by the Mohammedans, and Constantinople became the main seat of biblical literature, because then the copies of the Greek N. T. were for the most part made by the *librarii* of Constantinople. They applied themselves with diligence and care to secure correctness in the text, which in their hands maintained one and the same form, —that, namely, which it had hitherto attained, and that which we have before us in the later Greek codices.

§ 296.

(*c.*) The question now arises, In what relation does this, the Byzantine text, stand to the earlier forms of the text, and to the original text itself?

The earliest witnesses for the text, both in the East and in the West, present many variations; but in comparison of the later witnesses, *i.e.* the Byzantine, they may be regarded as forming together ONE *class*,—the later witnesses being another, or the *second* class, just as Bengel arranged them. Among modern editors and critics, Matthäi and Scholz give the preference to the latter, the second class. Scholz calls all the earlier witnesses *Alexandrine;* and in this family he includes the Greek MSS. written in Egypt and in the west of Europe, as well as the ancient versions made in these lands; and he describes these as in a critical point of view of less, or indeed of no value, because (he says) the text was corrupted and falsified by the *librarii;* whereas in Syria, Asia Minor, and Eastern Europe it received fewer corrections, and is preserved in the more modern MSS., the Byzantine family.[1]

[1] SCHOLZ is a little more careful in his depreciation of the witnesses of the so-called Alexandrine family, in his *Einl. in die Bibel*, i. 612-643,

But this is hardly correct. The more modern Byzantine MSS. generally present the text in a far more even and regular form than do the earliest witnesses, and they contain fewer manifest *errata* than they. But it cannot be proved that the text had this even and regular form in Western Asia and Eastern Europe during the earlier centuries. Far rather does it appear that it received this form at the hands of the later grammatically and philosophically cultivated *librarii* of Constantinople themselves. The text thus received at their hands a smoother, more correct, and at first sight a simpler and more appropriate form, than it has in the oldest documents which have come down to us, and which we have at command to consult, and than it certainly had when first it came from the hands of the N. T. writers themselves. It is certainly true that the text, as moulded by these *librarii*, is in some points more correct than we find it in the older MSS., and that the diplomatically oldest readings are occasionally retained therein; nor do I think it would be right wholly to ignore them in the reconstruction of the N. T. text, as some, and in particular Lachmann, in the present day have done. This relationship, however—which I admit—is the exception, and not the rule; and there can be no doubt that the oldest witnesses which we have in the Greek uncial MSS., and in the oldest versions, so far as their text is sufficiently certain, as well as in the statements and citations of the older Fathers, have incomparably greater weight as diplomatic authorities, and must form the groundwork and basis of any reconstruction of the N. T. text.

In the earliest printed editions of the Greek N. T., the text is generally presented in the form which it had in the MSS. current at the time when printing was invented; and these were the less ancient. They were reprinted in essentially the same form in subsequent editions; for though some MSS. were consulted, they were usually the more modern ones, and those who happened to have an old codex at command did not venture to make any thorough use of it. Thus

than he was in his edition of the N. T.; but his opinion is still essentially the same.

the printed text gradually, but in far higher degree than the written text in the hands of the Byzantine *librarii*, attained a fixed form as the *textus receptus*, which, though constructed by fortuitous circumstances rather than by recognised critical rules, attained in the seventeenth century, and afterwards, so great an authority, that it was the only one generally prevailing, and was regarded as alone strictly authentic,—any one venturing to differ from it or alter it being in danger of the suspicion and charge of heterodoxy.

HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT,

OR OF THE EDITIONS OF THE GREEK N. T.

§ 297.

We now direct our attention to the form of the text in the several editions or printed copies of the N. T.; the course of its history, as it gradually became fixed and settled as the *textus receptus;* and to the efforts made in recent editions for its emendation and restoration. The art of printing had been invented a considerable time, and the Vulgate had been variously printed for more than half a century, before there appeared a printed copy of the Greek N. T., showing how greatly the study of the Scriptures in the original had fallen into disuse. A few short fragments only, at most only a few chapters,[1] were printed in the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. The appearance of the whole Greek N. T. in a printed form was simultaneous with the beginning of the Reformation, and then it was issued in two editions, wholly independent of each other, viz. in the

[1] The songs of Mary and of Zacharias, Luke i. 42–56, were printed at Venice, 1486, as an addendum to the Greek Psalter. John i.–vi. was printed at the Aldine office in Venice, as an addendum to the poems of Gregory Nazianzen, in 1504; and the first fourteen verses of St. John's Gospel at Tübingen, 1514.

Complutensian Polyglot of Spain, and the edition of Erasmus at Basle.

1. The COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOT, embracing the O. and N. T., in 6 vols. fol., appeared at Alcala, or Complutum, in Spain, under the editorship of Cardinal Francis Ximenes (*ob.* 1517). The N. T. was printed first, 1514, and the whole was completed in 1517. Permission to publish it was not granted by the Pope until 1520, and it was not issued until 1522. Several scholars, whom the Cardinal himself remunerated, were employed upon it; and, in particular, Jacob Lopez de Stunica. The Greek text stands opposite to the Vulgate, in a parallel column. In their preface, the editors say that manuscripts which Pope Leo X. had sent form the basis of the Greek text. We have no reason to question this; but they are in error when they describe these manuscripts as *vetustissima simul et emendatissima exempla*: for later and very careful investigations have shown that the text here given is a very recent one, such as is to be found in MSS. of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries; so that if the editors had MSS. of so great value and antiquity at their command, they certainly cannot have made any important use of them. The MSS. were doubtless sent back to Rome, and were not (as is commonly told) sold as waste paper about the middle of the eighteenth century, according to a story of Moldenhauer, who, during his sojourn in Spain in 1784, went to Alcala to seek them. The Complutensian edition has the text 1 John v. 7; but, as Stunica himself says, it has been borrowed from the Latin version. Wetstein and Semler are, however, unwarranted in their assertion that the Greek text is in many places interpolated, so as to harmonize it with the Latin. There was a keen dispute between Semler and Götze of Hamburg (1764–71; see Walsh, *Neueste Religionsgesch.* iv. 425–490) concerning the worth of this edition, and both parties went too far in their assertions. It has no very weighty critical value as an authority for the N. T. text. But it was at one time very highly esteemed; and the Greek N. T. was often reprinted from it, last in the *N. T. Græco-Latinum* by Gratz, Tüb. 1821, 2 vols., 2d ed.

Mayence 1827. In the Complutensian Polyglot the Greek is printed without accents or breathings.

2. While this edition was being prepared in Spain, Froben, an enterprising printer and publisher at Basle, applied to ERASMUS of Rotterdam, who was at the time residing in England, to undertake an edition of the N. T. Erasmus accordingly came forthwith to Basle, and prosecuted the work with such zeal and expedition, that the entire N. T. was printed in eleven months after the proposal had been made (Basel 1516, fol.), and therefore some years before the issue of the Complutensian Polyglot. Erasmus made use of some more modern MSS. of inferior value which he found at Basle: for the Gospels he used chiefly Cod. Evang. 2 of the fifteenth century, after he had tested and corrected it; for the Acts and Epistles another somewhat older codex (for these books, Cod. 2): and these are both still at Basle. Besides these, he used two other codices, also still at Basle (No. 1 of the tenth century, containing the entire N. T. excepting the Apocalypse; and for the Acts and Epistles, No. 4 of the fifteenth century). For the Apocalypse he had only one codex, which he had received from Reuchlin (Cod. 1 Apoc.); and where this is, is now unknown,[1] but the text in it was blended with a commentary, and Erasmus had to separate it. The last six verses, which were wholly wanting, Erasmus himself translated into Greek from the Vulgate. He was assisted in his labour by Gerbel, Capito, and Œcolampadius. Much was altered in the Greek text, according to quotations in the Fathers; much also in conformity with the Vulgate, and some upon mere conjecture. Considering the great hurry in which the entire work was performed—it was really a publisher's speculation—the wonder is that it was not done much worse. The Greek text is accompanied with a Latin version, which Erasmus himself had in part at least before made; and notes are added, in which he comments upon several of the readings. 1 John v. 7 is omitted; and on this account,

[1] [It has been discovered by DELITZSCH. See his *Handschriftliche Funde*, Heft 1, Leipz. and London 1861; and Heft 2, 1862, with a dissertation by TREGELLES.]

as well as for his Latin version, Erasmus was very much blamed, especially by the Paris theologians and Stunica. For the second edition (Basel 1519) a new codex of the twelfth century was used (No. 3 for the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, now in Vienna); and the text of the first edition was, according to Mill, altered in 400 places. Luther translated his N. T. from this edition. Both editions are scarce, though there were in all 3300 copies printed. The text of the third (1522) differs from that of the second in 118 places (according to Mill), many of these alterations being made in conformity with the Aldine edition (1518). Erasmus inserted 1 John v. 7 in both these editions from a "Codex Britannicus" (Montfortianus; see § 273), of which he knew nothing more, and which he thought had been corrected by the Vulgate; but he had promised to insert the passage if it were found in any Greek codex. The text in question was copied from this edition (in which it stands somewhat varying in form from the reading in the Complutensian Polyglot) into subsequent editions. The fourth edition (1527) contains, besides the Latin version of Erasmus, the Vulgate likewise: its text, according to Mill, differs from the former edition in 106 places, chiefly in the Apocalypse, for which the Complutensian Polyglot had now been used. In the fifth edition (1535, the year of Erasmus' death) the Vulgate was again left out; but the Greek text differs in hardly any respect from the preceding—in four places only, according to Mill. It is historically important, because it formed (not designedly, but through fortuitous circumstances) the main basis of the *textus receptus*. The N. T. of Erasmus was reprinted frequently after his death, chiefly at Basle; also at Leipsic, Frankfort, and Strasburg; last at Frankfort, 1700. Besides the five editions published during his life, it has since his death gone through twenty editions. As to the relation between the text of Erasmus and that of the Complutensian Polyglot, they were at first quite independent of each other; still they do not materially differ, because they both give the text as it lay in comparatively recent Greek MSS.

The Aldine edition of the N. T. appeared a year after

that of Erasmus, as the third part of the entire Greek Bible. It contained the Greek text only, and was published at Venice in the office of Aldus Manutius, and after his death under the care of his son-in-law Andreas Asulanus. The text of Erasmus forms the basis text, but it is altered in about a hundred places, partly from MSS., and particularly in the Apocalypse. The statement of Asulanus, in the preface, that *multa vetustissima exemplaria* were consulted, is a great exaggeration.

§ 298.

The edition of Simon Colinæus, father-in-law to Robert Stephens (Paris 1534, 8vo), is not without some critical value: it is neatly printed, and very rare; it contains simply the Greek text, not even a preface saying in what way the editor proceeded, and what position he assumed with reference to earlier editions. Careful investigation has discovered that its text is a blending of the Complutensian and Erasmian editions, and that 150 new readings have been adopted probably from three Paris MSS. It has several good readings which in recent times have been confirmed. The edition was not repeated, and did not therefore greatly influence the subsequent form of the N. T. text. The editions of Stephens and of Beza have done this in a far higher degree.

1. That of the Paris publisher, ROBERT STEPHENS, appeared first in two editions large 16mo, Paris 1546 and 1549, which are rare, and are called *Mirificæ*, because the preface begins: *O mirificam regis nostri . . . liberalitatem.* In this preface he speaks of having consulted MSS. in the Royal Library of Paris, which he describes as *ipsa vetustatis specie pene adorandos*, and as if he had printed the Greek text according to them, comparing with them the Complutensian edition only. But later investigations of Mill and others have shown that Stephens has followed for the most part the Complutensian, and partly the fifth Erasmian editions, and used the MSS. only for thirty-seven readings. In the Apocalypse, he adopts almost throughout the edition of

Erasmus. The second edition, according to Mill, contains sixty-seven variations from the first. But Stephens' main edition was the third, 1550, fol., beautifully printed, and on account of its splendid exterior called *Regia*. The fifth edition of Erasmus forms the basis of its text, and from that it but seldom differs. In the margin are noted various readings from the Complutensian edition, and from fifteen MSS. which his son Henry Stephens had collated, and most of which have been discovered; among them probably was the *Cod. Cantabrigiensis* (cf. § 270). But the various readings of these MSS. are not fully given; *e.g.* a marginal note to 1 John v. 7 informs that in seven of the MSS. the words ἐν οὐρανῷ were wanting, whereas the entire verse was certainly wanting in them all. The text of this edition is called distinctly that of Stephens, and is historically important, because it is essentially the same with the so-called *textus receptus*. The fourth edition, 1551, large 16mo (according to others, 8vo), place of publication not named, doubtless Geneva, with the Latin version of Erasmus and the Vulgate, is specially celebrated as the first that contains the division of the text (which is the same as in the third edition) into verses.

2. The edition of THEODORE BEZA was published at Geneva, 1556, fol., and contained a new Latin translation of the N. T. and the Vulgate, with critical and exegetical notes. It went through several editions—1565, 1576, 1582, 1588, 1598, and, after his death, at Cambridge, 1642, fol. The exegetical notes are very valuable, though of little service in the criticism of the text. He did not for the first edition use twenty-five MSS. examined by himself, though a statement of his in the Dedication to Queen Elizabeth has been thus interpreted, but simply a collection of various readings seemingly inserted by H. Stephens in his copy of the N. T., and gathered from other MSS. partly by his father Robert Stephens, and partly by him after the publication of their third edition. For the edition of 1582 Beza used the *Cod. Cantabrigiensis* and the *Claromontanus*, which he had in his possession (see § 270); also the Peschito, and the Arabic

version of the Acts and the Corinthians. The Greek text of this edition is almost identical with that of Stephens; but in his translation Beza often differs from it, and in the notes describes the readings as doubtful, giving preference to others. In the text, however, there are only fifty variations from that of Stephens. Hence in the Reformed Church especially these widely circulated editions of Beza—including many smaller editions containing the Greek text with the Latin translation, the first of which appeared in 1565—contributed greatly to make the text of the Stephens editions the generally received text in the Calvinistic Churches in England, and especially in Holland and Switzerland.

Still more widely spread was this text, and indeed established as the only authoritative one, by the ELZEVIR editions, which issued from the press of the energetic printers the brothers Elzevir at Leyden. The first of these editions, under the supervision of a Dutch scholar now unknown, appeared at Leyden 1624, 16mo. The text is that of Stephens, differing therefrom, according to Tischendorf, in 145 places, in which Beza's text or opinion is adopted; and it very seldom varies from both these authorities. The second edition appeared in 1633, 12mo, with substantially the same text. In the preface it is stated: *textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum, in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus.* Hence it became customary to describe the Elzevir text as the *textus receptus;* but the confident assertion itself implied, as a matter to be taken for granted, that the text given was really universally received, and must not be tampered with; and the elegance and correctness of the Elzevir editions ministered to its popularity and esteem. The second edition was five times repeated, so that in all seven Elzevir editions (the seventh in 1678) were issued, all having the same text. This text also appeared in many other editions, of which I name only those of Stephen Curcellæus (De Courcelles), by Daniel Elzevir at Amsterdam, first in 1658, 12mo. The Elzevir text is adopted (*quæ ad præcedentes Elzevirianas expressa fuit, nulla prorsus in textu facta mutatione*); but beneath the text and in an appendix a considerable collection

of various readings is added from the editions of Stephens and others, from the *Cod. Claromontanus*, and from some other MSS. not before collated. In the second edition all these various readings are placed beneath the text. This edition was afterwards (1696) condemned by the Rostock theologian J. G. Moller, as having been issued with the design of promoting Socinianism, — an accusation which was currently believed, though other theologians, *e.g.* Pfaff and Le Clerc, defended the editor from the charge.

§ 299.

The Received Text, *i.e.* the text of the Stephens and Elzevir editions, is found in the works of three English scholars who greatly contributed to textual criticism, especially by the critical apparatus which they prepared, — I mean Walton, Fell, and Mill.

(*a.*) The fifth volume of the large London Polyglot (1657, 6 vols. fol.), edited by BRIAN WALTON, contains the N. T., the Greek being that of the third Stephens edition, with a Latin interlinear version, that of Areas Montanus, and beneath the text various readings of the *Cod. Alexandrinus*; further, containing the Peschito, the Vulgate, the Arabic version, and in the Gospels the Æthiopic version. Vol. vi. also contains, under No. 15, a rich collection of various readings, partly from earlier editions and partly from sixteen Greek MSS. (the *Cod. Cantab.*, the *Cod. Claromontanus*, and others which had not before been examined), also the so-called Velesian readings.

(*b.*) In the Greek N. T. of JOHN FELL (Oxford 1675, 8vo) the editor is not named. From the preface we learn that the collection of various readings in the London Polyglot had awakened anxiety and alarm in the minds of many who, contemplating their number without at the same time comparing them with the text, imagined the variations to be greater than they really were, and that thus the text of the N. T. was rendered uncertain as the rule of faith. In order to calm this fear, Fell undertook this edition, putting the various readings directly under the text, so that every one might see

for himself how little they affected the sense, and how small was the danger threatening religion. The Elzevir text is adopted. The various readings are taken from the work of Curcellæus and the London Polyglot; also from twelve MSS. in the Bodleian, four in the Dublin, and three in the Paris Libraries; from the so-called Barberini readings; and from Gothic and Coptic versions, whose readings Marshall had given. No readings from the Fathers are given. The statement on the title-page, that the various readings of a hundred MSS. are given, is an exaggeration. Fell's edition was twice reprinted at Leipsic (1697 and 1702), the latter edited by A. H. Francke; and in a very splendid form at Oxford 1703, fol., with annotations from the Greek Fathers by John Gregory, who died while the work was being printed.

(*c.*) JOHN MILL was urged to his undertaking by Fell, who himself felt the defects of his own edition. Mill devoted thirty years' labour to the work. He used the various readings in Stephens and Walton, together with Fell's MSS.; made excerpts from the chief earlier editions; examined, or caused to be examined, a large number of Greek MSS. which had not before been fully collated; and lastly, made a collection of various readings from the ancient versions and from the Fathers. His work appeared only fourteen days before his death, Oxford 1707, fol. The Greek text is that of Stephens' third edition. Beneath it are numerous references to parallel passages; and below these, again, are the various readings, numbering about 30,000, wherein Mill—and this was not done in previous collections, not fully even in Fell—always names the several witnesses for each reading (Greek MSS., Versions, and Fathers). An appendix of 64 pp. contains a supplemental list of variations. Among the MSS. here for the first time used, are the *Cod. Cyprius* of the Gospels, the *Cod. Laudianus* of the Acts, and many *minuscula*. Owing to his imperfect knowledge of the languages, he had to use the hardly trustworthy Latin translations of them in the London Polyglot; and their readings are often inaccurately given, as has been shown, both with re-

ference to him and to Bengel, by Chr. A. Bode.[1] Mill gives his opinion concerning the value of the more important readings in his notes, and especially in his very valuable and comprehensive *Prolegomena*, full of important matter (see § 8, vol. i. p. 21). But it frequently occurs that the judgment given in the notes does not correspond with that given in the *Prolegg.*, because, as Mill himself intimates, his opinions were variously modified, and in particular with reference to the ancient versions, in the course of his labours, especially by R. Simon's *Critical History of the N. T.* Mill's critical judgment is in general sound and trustworthy. He takes care not to give the preference to the easier and more accommodating readings of later witnesses, and attaches great importance to the old Latin version.

A reprint of Mill's N. T. was published at Amsterdam 1710, fol., by Ludolf Küster, in which (*a*) the various readings and notes in the appendix are inserted beneath the text of the passages referred to, and this is not very accurately done; and (*b*) the various readings of twelve MSS. mostly in the Paris Library are added, among others from the Cod. C (Ephræmi), M, and *Cod. Börnerianus*. This edition of Küster's was reprinted at Leipsic 1723, fol.: some think it is a new title-page merely. In the Bodleian Library there is a copy of Mill's N. T., with manuscript notes partly of Mill himself and partly of Hearne. Griesbach has printed these additional notes on Matt. i.–xvii. and the Epistles in his *Symbolæ criticæ*, i. 241–304.

The great service rendered by Mill towards the restoration of the N. T. text was little appreciated by his contemporaries. His undertaking was for the most part stigmatized as endangering the faith. One of his most earnest opponents was his fellow-countryman D. Whitby, in his *Examen variantium lectionum Joh. Millii in N. T.*, Lond. 1720, fol., who endeavours to vindicate the received text throughout, in opposition to Mill's judgment.

[1] *Pseudo-Critica Millio-Bengeliana*, etc., Halle 1767–69. 2 vols.

§ 300.

It is much to be regretted that an undertaking projected by RICHARD BENTLEY, the friend of Mill, which would have been of still greater moment in textual criticism, was not brought to an accomplishment. At the suggestion of Wetstein, who was then but a young man, Bentley undertook to set on foot a critical edition of the N. T. He sent John Walker to Paris and Holland to compare MSS.; he obtained considerable excerpts from Codex B (see § 269), and the loan of the *Cod. Börner.* from Börner. He first fully divulged his project in two letters to Archbp. Wake. He proposed to publish an edition of the Greek and Latin Testament, in which the Greek text should be given from manuscripts not less than a thousand years old, and the Latin version, as amended by Jerome, from the oldest known MSS. These he asserted would be found marvellously to tally; and in illustration he put forth, in his *Proposals*, 1720, the last chapter of the Apocalypse. He hoped in this manner to restore the text to the form in which it lay in the Greek MSS. used by Jerome (*i.e.* as he thought, those of Origen). He would construct the text according to these old witnesses, without allowing private judgment or opinion concerning its correctness to interfere. But he subsequently desisted from the undertaking, annoyed and chagrined with the suspicions he had to encounter, and because Parliament refused to grant him the paper for his edition free of duty. He withdrew from the task, and devoted his labours to other spheres of learning.

Considering what had already been done, and in particular Mill's great work, there could hardly fail to arise other scientific theologians who would feel it wrong to suffer the *textus receptus* to retain the high and authoritative position which it had usurped. It was first dislodged from its hold by the pious and faithful J. A. BENGEL (*ob.* 1752). While still a student at Tübingen, Bengel's mind was troubled and perplexed by the various readings which he found noted in a copy of Fell's N. T. which he had bought. He was thus led to prosecute his inquiries further with all earnestness

and zeal. The fruit of his investigations and toil in this department was embodied in his edition of the Greek N. T. Tüb. 1734, 4to. He derived his critical apparatus mainly from Mill's N. T., but also from Latin and Greek MSS. examined by himself, fifteen of which had not been collated before. He often departs from the received text, but limited himself by the rule to adopt no reading that had not already been printed in some former edition: in the Apocalypse alone does he venture sometimes to amend the text by MSS. apart from printed editions. Beneath the text are selected variations, the value of which in his judgment he marks with the Greek letters *α*, *β*, *γ*, *δ*, *ε*—whether they are to be preferred to the reading given in the text, or to be put on a par with it, or to be rejected, etc. Appended is an *Apparatus criticus*, in three parts, the *first* of which—*Introductio in crisin N. T.*—treats of the MSS. and earlier editions compared, and gives certain rules of criticism; the *second* contains a selection of readings from Mill, and from the MSS. collated by Bengel himself, with longer or shorter comments as to their value, and for the Apocalypse some *Fundamenta criseos apocalypticæ;* in the *third*, he considers some objections against his critical undertaking as a whole. Bengel was the first who attempted to classify the witnesses for the N. T. text (see § 292), dividing them into two families, the African and the Asiatic, and giving the preference decidedly to the former, and attaching special importance to the harmony subsisting between the *Cod. Alex.* and the old Latin version as the main witnesses of the African family, so that his critical judgment is substantially at one with that of Mill and Bentley. He holds, moreover, that, as a rule, the more difficult reading is to be preferred to the easier. Bengel's *Apparatus criticus* was reprinted after his death by Ph. D. Burk, Tüb. 1763, 4to, with the additions contained in Bengel's MS. notes, and with a supplement containing fourteen other essays of Bengel's upon N. T. criticism, which had been separately printed at different times before. Contemporaneously with his larger edition Bengel had published a smaller one, containing the text, with various readings

below, and signs indicating their worth, Stuttgard 1734, 8vo; often reprinted, and last as the 5th ed. Tüb. 1790, 8vo, under the care of his son Ernst Bengel, in which the opinions concerning the several readings scattered through the work are collected and arranged.

When Bengel's N. T. appeared, J. J. WETSTEIN had already for a long time been preparing a critical edition of the N. T. (Wetstein was born at Basle 1693, travelled as a scholar in France and England, became deacon in the Reformed Church at Basle, but was displaced on account of heterodoxy in 1730; in 1733 became Professor of Philosophy and Church History at Amsterdam, and died 1754.) His N. T. appeared at Amsterdam in 1751–52, 2 vols. fol. Twenty years before he had published anonymously *Prolegomena to the N. T.* (Amsterdam 1730, 4to), treating of the various witnesses for the text, and the critical rules upon which decisions concerning various readings should be based. These investigations, much enlarged and modified (though not in all respects for the better), were incorporated into his later work, and placed partly at the beginning and partly at the end, where we also find a section upon hermeneutical rules, and one also upon the design and interpretation of the Apocalypse. These inquiries were separately published by Semler: the *Prolegomena*, Halle 1764, 8vo, with many notes by Semler, and an appendix (*De vetustioribus Latinis recensionibus, quæ in variis codicibus supersunt*); and the supplement of part 2, Halle 1766, 8vo (*Wetstenii libelli ad crisin atque interpretationem N. T.*, with notes by Semler, and a critique of Bengel's *Introductio in crisin*). Wetstein originally intended to make the text of the *Codex Alexandrinus* his basis text. But changing his view of the worth of this codex, he resolved to construct a text *e vetustissimis codicibus*. Labouring under the suspicion of Socinianism, he could secure the publication of his work only on the condition that it be printed according to the Elzevir received text.[1] Hence the title runs, *N. T. Græcum editionis receptæ*. Still

[1] The text, according to EICHHORN, is that of the third STEPHENS edition.

he indicated in the text itself, or immediately below, where in his opinion it should be altered. Beneath this, again, there is a copious list of various readings, with the names of the witnesses in which they are to be found, and lengthy comments upon them here and there. Wetstein had himself examined for this edition forty codices in England, Basle, and France, which had not before been collated, or at best only partially, and some had been collated for him by others. He, too, was the first to give excerpts from the Philoxenian version. There is in the collection of various readings a kind of exegetical commentary, consisting for the most part of quotations from Greek and Roman, rabbinical and patristic authors, explanatory of certain words, formulæ, or representations of the N. T. writers, partly philological and partly practical, to which he but rarely subjoins his own judgment. This citation of parallels and analogies from non-Christian writers confirmed the suspicion of the author's heterodoxy, and there certainly was some ground for it. Nevertheless, Wetstein's N. T. is still very valuable, and indeed indispensable, to the N. T. expositor and critic, on account alike of its exegetical and its critical apparatus. We cannot pronounce so favourable an opinion of Wetstein's views upon textual criticism. He takes a course opposed to that rightly trodden by Mill, Bentley, and Bengel, rejecting the Latin witnesses and the oldest Greek MSS., which, so far as they agree with the old Latin version, he thinks were interpolated therefrom, and, as he calls it, "Latinized." The text therefore, as he would have constructed it, would differ comparatively little from the *textus receptus*,—excepting the Apocalypse, only in 364 places, and these mostly unimportant. It was issued by a London publisher, W. Bowyer, under the title, *N. T. Græcum ad fidem græcorum solum codd.* MSS. *nunc primum expressum, adstipulante J. J. Wetstenio*, etc., Lond. 1763, 2 vols. 12mo. Vol. ii. contains in a supplement a summary of the critical conjectures of earlier expositors concerning several N. T. passages. This was often reprinted, and was translated into German, with addition by J. Ch. F. Schulz, Leipz. 1774–5, 2 vols. 8vo.

§ 301.

Following Wetstein, JOHN JAMES GRIESBACH stands distinguished by the service which he rendered towards the criticism of the text (*ob.* 1812). His edition of the N. T. first appeared in 3 vols., at Halle 1774–5,—vol. i. containing the three Gospels, synoptically arranged; vol. ii. the Gospel of St. John and the Acts. But seeing that the synoptical arrangement was not found convenient for ordinary use, the historical books (Gospels and Acts) were newly published in one volume, Halle 1777,—the Epistles and Apocalypse of 1775 forming the second part, and the synoptical edition being sold as a separate work, which has since gone through several editions. In constructing the text, Griesbach adopted the Elzevir as his basis, altering and amending this when critical evidence justified him in so doing, but putting the rejected Elzevir reading in a space between the text and the notes, together with the readings, in smaller type, which seemed to him trustworthy, but which he would not venture to put in the text. He indicates with certain signs what degree of probability attaches to the reading, whether the Elzevir or the others. In estimating this, he takes his system of recensions as his guide, regarding the collective witnesses of each recension as one; so that if a reading has all three recensions, or two out of the three, in its favour, especially the Alexandrine and Western recensions, he pronounces it to be genuine,—internal considerations being brought in to decide only when all three recensions differ. This mode of procedure is certainly better suited than that of Wetstein to give a text most nearly approaching the original; but it has many defects, and is by no means preferable to the method of Mill, Bentley, and Bengel. Beneath this intervening list there is placed a selection of the most important variations, from Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, and other works, as well as from nine Greek MSS., which Griesbach had himself compared in the libraries of England and France (the excerpts which he made are given in full in his *Symbolis criticis*), from the two Wolfenbüttel codices collated by Knittel, and from a Giessen MS.; the quotations from the Oriental

versions are given from Bode, and the readings of the old Latin version from Sabatier and Blanchinus; references to quotations in the Fathers, Origen in particular, are very numerous.

The work was considerably improved and enlarged in the second edition; but it derived great advantage from other works contributing much to textual criticism which appeared in the interval, viz.:

(1.) That of Ch. F. von Matthäi (*ob.* 1811). We have from his pen first a larger edition, in twelve parts or volumes, 1782–88. It contains, besides the Greek text, the Vulgate according to a Moscow MS. Beneath the text are copious excerpts from above 100 Moscow MSS., most of which had never before been used, but few containing the whole N. T.; with critical notes, various readings from the Fathers, especially Chrysostom. At the end of each volume Greek scholia from the MSS. compared are given, here for the first time printed, together with Greek prologues, and tables of contents at the head of each book of the N. T.; plates containing fac-similes of MSS. are appended to each part. A second and smaller edition, in three volumes (1803–7), contains the Greek text (without the Vulgate), the Ammonian chapters and Eusebian canons marked, also the τίτλοι, and in the Apocalypse the divisions of Andreas Cæsarensis; likewise the lessons, as usually read in the Greek Church; beneath the text, a selection of various readings from the larger edition, and from several more MSS. newly compared. The Greek text is the same in both editions, and is constructed by Matthäi himself from his own MSS., and independently of other critical apparatus; but as all these MSS. belong to the later or Byzantine family, it is only a comparatively modern text, differing little from the *textus receptus*. Little weight is assigned to the Latin witnesses or to Codex D; and little importance attached to the versions or the Fathers: indeed, he attributes to them, and especially to Origen, a pernicious influence in corrupting the text. On this account he assails and abuses Griesbach most coarsely; so that Michaelis (*Einl. ins N. T.* i. 839) says: "When Herr

Matthäi names Griesbach, he ceases to be master of himself." Still the materials furnished by Matthäi will always be valuable and thankworthy.

(2.) That of F. K. ALTER (*ob.* 1804), a Greek Testament, in 2 vols., Vienna 1787. He printed the text, with some alterations of faulty readings, according to a Vienna codex of the 12th–13th century (*Cod. Lambeccii*, I: for the Gospels, No. 218; Acts and General Epistles, 65; Pauline Epistles, 57; Revelation, 33), which contained the entire Greek Bible, in cursive writing, and which has been brought to Vienna from Constantinople. With this text he compared twenty-two other Vienna MSS., which had not before been fully, if at all examined: he also added a new collation of the Coptic (Wilkins' edition), and of three MSS. of the Slavonic version. These collations are arranged very inconveniently, being made with a hitherto unused text as the standard,—the text of a codex of but comparatively little importance; and the comparison of each MS. and other witnesses with this is given separately, so that we have quite a succession of separate collations. Treschow (*ob.* 1833) had before published a more accurate description of several of these MSS., collated by early writers, with some fac-similes: *Tentamen descriptionis codd. veterum aliquot Græcorum N. T.* MSS. *qui in bibl. Cæs. Vindob. asservantur*, Copenhagen 1773.

(3.) That of ANDREW BIRCH (*ob.* 1829), who had travelled with Adler and Moldenhauer, at the cost of the Danish Government, in Germany, Italy, Spain, and France, to examine MSS. which had not before, or only partially, been collated. In Birch's name there appeared at Copenhagen a splendid edition of the four Gospels, 1788, 4to and folio, which may be regarded as an extension of Wetstein's critical apparatus. The text is that of Stephens. Birch himself had examined the most important MSS., among them Codex B, and many in Rome, Vienna, Venice, Florence; Moldenhauer furnished excerpts from the MSS. in the Escurial, Hensler from those in the Copenhagen Library, and Adler from the MSS. of three Syriac versions, especially from the Jerusalem

Syriac discovered by him. A description of the MSS., and opinions concerning them, are given in the Prolegomena. The rest of the N. T. was to have been published in the same manner; but this was prevented by a fire in Copenhagen in June 1795, which destroyed a great many copies of the first part, and the MS. preparations for the second. Birch now published the collection of readings for the Acts and Epistles, without the text, Copenhagen 1798, royal 8vo, and for the Apocalypse, 1800, some of the MSS. used having been collated by Engelbreth. The various readings for the Gospels were likewise separately published, 1801; and this last work contains the entire *apparatus criticus* of the quarto edition, together with various readings from other MSS. in Paris, Venice, Sicily, examined by Beytrug, Engelbreth, and Münter.

The critical apparatus at command having been greatly extended by these works, a second edition of his N. T. was prepared and published by Griesbach at Halle and London, 2 vols., 1796, 1806. He made use of the new material furnished to his hand, and examined anew the collections of Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein used in the earlier edition. He also multiplied the excerpts from the ancient versions, especially the Syriac, the Coptic, and the Old Latin, adding to these quotations from Latin MSS. in Toledo, Prague, Regensburg, and Vienna. He also gives excerpts from the Armenian version, furnished by Bredenkamp, and from editions and MSS. of the Slavonic version by Dobrowsky; the various readings from the Fathers are also increased, especially from Origen and Chrysostom. The text is in several places altered, many readings which had before been given only in the intermediate space being put into the text, and some which had been in the text being put below. Greater care, too, was bestowed on the arrangement of the words, especially the place of the article, and the punctuation; the beginning and end of the old Church Lessons were marked with brackets [ ]. The arrangement of the work, however, is the same, and the same critical principles retained. The first volume of the third edition, containing the Gospels, was pre-

pared by David Schulz, Berlin 1827. In this the critical apparatus of the second edition is only slightly enlarged: *e.g.* by Bentley's collation of Cod. B; by the readings of Codex Z of the Gospels, edited by Barret, and of some other MSS. of minor importance; by the readings, too, of the *Cod. Rhediger*, the Old Latin version, etc. Schulz used the MS. notes of C. B. Michaelis in his copy of Mill's N. T., which refer especially to the readings of the Eastern versions. The readings, moreover, were more conveniently placed—all of them beneath the passages to which they referred. The text of Griesbach's second edition is retained; but where Schulz thought a different reading was to be preferred, he names it in the notes.

As supplements to Griesbach's edition, the two following works may be named: (1.) His *Symbolæ crit. ad supplendas et corrigendas variarum N. T. lectionum collectiones; accedit multorum N. T. codicum Græcorum descriptio et examen*, 2 vols., Halle 1785, 1793. (2.) His *Commentarius crit. in textum Græc. N. T.*, parts i. and ii., Jena 1798, 1811,—the substance of various programmes. It is a critical commentary extending through the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, in which the author carefully and fully states the arguments for and against the more important various readings (in part ii., *accedunt meletemata de vetustis Textus recensionibus*). Griesbach himself prepared an abridgment of his larger work, which contains his text and a selection of readings, and well fulfils its design, Leipz. 1805, 2 vols., 2d ed. 1825. A princely edition of the N. T., containing Griesbach's text, with a selection of various readings, appeared at Leipsic 1803–7, 4 vols. small fol.

§ 302.

Since Griesbach's time, four indefatigable labourers in this department have specially distinguished themselves—Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles.

(1.) J. M. A. SCHOLZ (*ob.* 1852), *N. T. Græce*, etc., Leipz. 1830, 1836, 2 vols. 4to. During his travels, 1818–21, Scholz had the opportunity of visiting most of the European libraries,

those in the Greek monasteries in Jerusalem, St. Saba, and Patmos, and of seeing a large number of N. T. MSS., of which he gave an account in his *Biblisch.-kritischen Reise*, 1823. These are cited in the Prolegomena side by side with those named by Wetstein and Griesbach, and thus the critical material is much increased,—219 codices and 121 *evangelistaria* being cited for the Gospels which had not before been used, 122 for the Pauline Epistles, and 38 for the Apocalypse. Still there is more parade than real value in them. Many of these codices are merely named in the list, without any remark about them, or extract from them: most of them had been examined for a single passage merely, and very few of them fully (see Tregelles, p. 102). The references, moreover, have been made in a very untrustworthy manner, as those who have examined them have found. In the lists of variations, a great deal has been borrowed word for word from Griesbach. As to Scholz's principles of criticism, see § 296. As, like Bengel, he divides the witnesses into two families, the Alexandrine and the Byzantine, he names this distinction in the central space between the text and notes, and almost always gives the preference to the Byzantine reading; and thus his edition presents—where he exercises an independent judgment, and does not follow Griesbach, and this indeed is often the case—a very modern text, and one much more remote from that of the N. T. writers themselves than is Griesbach's. It is noteworthy that, though a Catholic theologian, he has had the courage to expunge 1 John v. 7, on which account he has been reproached by his own Church. Scholz's edition has met with high esteem and great acceptance in England, on account of its conservatism of the received text, and it was by means of contributions from England that he published his second volume. In vol. i. are added the Synaxaria of some Paris MSS.

(2.) KARL LACHMANN (*ob.* 13th March 1851) sought to resume and carry out Bentley's idea of presenting the N. T. text as it lies in the oldest witnesses, and he stated his purpose in the *Stud. u. Krit.* 1830. There first appeared a small edition, *N. T. græce e recensione C. Lachm. editio stereotypa*,

Berl. 1831, 12mo, frequently reprinted and revised. Lachmann here aims at giving the text as it lies in the oldest Eastern witnesses, and he takes into account the Latin and African authorities only when the Eastern disagree. The text only is given, and at the end a list of the variations from the *textus receptus*, placed not very conveniently for reference. Beneath the text variations are noted only when the Eastern witnesses disagree, one reading being placed in the text and the other below. After this, a larger edition, with the assistance of Philip Buttmann, jun., appeared: *N. T. Græce et Latine C. Lachm. recensuit, Ph. Buttm. Ph. fil., græcæ lectionis auctoritate apposuit*, 2 vols., Berlin 1842, 1850. This edition contains the Greek text, the Vulgate, Jerome's version, printed according to the oldest MSS., the Codex Fuldensis (distinguishing the corrections made by the bishop of Capua), and the Codex Amiatinus. Between the Greek text and the Latin, the witnesses for the reading adopted in the text, or for other readings, are given; and also the deviations from the received text, that of the Elzevir edition of 1624, and marked ϛ.[1] As in the smaller edition, so in this, the aim is to give the text as nearly as possible as it was constructed in earliest times, in the second, third, and at latest the fourth century, according to the most trustworthy witnesses at command, both Eastern and Western, according to the Greek MSS. and other testimonies, no judgment being pronounced upon it; it being left to further criticism to determine chiefly by internal evidence whether the result be really in every respect the original text as it came from the hands of the N. T. writers themselves. The editors have therefore confined their attention to a comparatively small number of authorities—to those only which seemed sufficiently old, and in their opinion sufficiently trustworthy to be selected. The following are the Greek MSS. they consult: the *Codices Alex.*, *Vatic.*, *Ephr.*, *Cantabr.* (Gospels and Acts), *Laudian.* of the Acts, *Claromont.*, *Börner.*, *Coislin. fragm.* of the Pauline

[1] It is a defect in GRIESBACH'S and other earlier critical editions, that the witnesses *for* the *textus receptus* are not cited, but only those which sanction deviations from it.

Epistles, Fragments P and Q of the Gospels, T of John, and Z of Matthew. Of Latin MSS., besides the Vulgate according to the oldest MSS., for the Gospels the *Codd. Vercell.*, *Veron.*, *Colbert.*; the Latin version in *Cod. Cantabr.* (Gospels, Acts, and 3d John), in *Cod. Laudian.* (Acts); for the Pauline Epistles in the *Claromont.*, *Sangerm.*, *Börner.*; for the Apocalypse, the text of Primasius in his commentary on the book. The Fathers referred to are mainly Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Hilarius Pictav., and Lucifer Calaritanus. They passed by many old witnesses because they did not consider them sufficiently trustworthy in the form in which they have come down to us, *e.g.* the Peschito.

This work, being the first accomplished attempt to trace the N. T. text back to the form which it had in the oldest extant witnesses within reach, must be regarded as a decided advance in the criticism of the N. T. text, and as a good foundation upon which further to build. Nevertheless my conviction is, that we cannot remain where Lachmann leaves us, but must go on building still. I observe (*a*) Lachmann's edition only aims at giving us the relatively oldest text as far as it can be proved to be so, even though this itself might be a decidedly false one, or should present no natural meaning. But he does not proceed logically upon this principle: he often adopts readings supported only by internal considerations, and not by external evidence of their antiquity. But I do not consider the thoroughly logical carrying out of Lachmann's principle to be, after all, the right one—not, at least, for ordinary editions of the N. T. In the ordinary and habitual use of the N. T. in the original Greek, we do not so much want to have it in the form in which it was in the third or fourth century, but rather in the form which most closely corresponds with the primary and authentic sense, as far as this can be ascertained upon principles of the highest probability. I think, therefore, that I would venture, in constructing the N. T. text, not always to abide by its relatively oldest form as far as documents show this; but in cases where internal evidence conclusively shows that this was not the original reading, and where probability is on the side of another read-

ing, I maintain with Bengel, Griesbach, and others, that it is right to adopt this other reading, though there be not so strong evidence extant of its genuineness. Certainly a reading should not be adopted which presents either no meaning at all, or a false one, even though it be supported by the oldest witnesses. Cf. *Stud. u. Krit.* 1855, 175–178. (*b*) Secondly, I also think that it is not right to limit oneself to so narrow a circle of early witnesses as Lachmann does in his larger edition, because these witnesses themselves, as hitherto examined, do not present any very certain evidence, as especially is the case with the important Codex B, of which it is still doubtful in many places what its real reading is. The oldest witnesses at our command are to be used by us not only more accurately, but more fully, than Lachmann has done; but later MSS. also, that of the Byzantine recension and other more modern witnesses, are not to be overlooked: for much that is genuine may have been, and certainly has been, retained and preserved to us in them. All we can say is, that they are not to be put at the head of the list of witnesses, nor to be ranked first; but in the second rank they do come in for consideration.

(3.) CONSTANTINE TISCHENDORF first made himself known by a small Greek N. T., Leipsic 1841, small 8vo, in which he gives a recension of his own, but follows closely Lachmann's text. Partly in the text, and partly in the introduction, he notes the distinctive readings of the received text, and of several editions which present a different text, with the main testimonies for the various readings; and in the margin are references to parallel passages in the O. and N. T. Tischendorf has since made various scientific journeys in Germany, France, Holland, England, Switzerland, and in the East; and as the fruit of these travels, he has fully edited many of the most important Greek and Latin MSS. already known, and has discovered several ancient codices, which he has published in separate editions, *e.g.* the *Ephr.*, *Claromont.*, *Amiat.*, *Evang. Palatin.* [and above all, the *Sinaitic*, discovered by him in 1859]; and in his more general works, the *Monumenta sacra inedita*, etc., the *Nova collectio*

monum. sacr., and the *Anecdota sacra et profana*.[1] He has also published several editions of the N. T.[2] The second Leipsic edition was a great improvement upon the first. The arrangement was substantially the same; but a much fuller critical apparatus was given beneath the text (for the later more than for the earlier books), many witnesses being arrayed for the several readings,—both those adopted into the text, and those otherwise noticeable of the Stephens, the Elzevir, the Griesbachian texts, and those of Scholz and Lachmann. His critical judgment is now freer from Lachmann's influence than it was in the first edition. He endeavours to construct the text by means of the oldest witnesses; but he gives more attention than Lachmann to the evidence of less ancient witnesses—the Eastern versions, and a great many of the Fathers: and this, too, upon internal grounds.[3] His *N. T. Græce*, ed. 7, *critica major*, 2 vols., Leipz. 1859, with pp. 278 prolegomena, contains a still more copious *apparatus criticus*. It is called the seventh edition, with reference to three editions which were published in Paris.[4] [A short addendum to this was published in 1860, giving an account of the newly discovered *Codex Sinaiticus*,

[1] TISCHENDORF gives an account of the MSS. brought by him from the East to St. Petersburg, in his *Notitia editionis cod. Bibl. Sinait. Accedit catalogus codicum nuper ex oriente Petropolin perlatorum*, Leipz. 1860, 4to.

[2] TISCHENDORF states his principles of textual criticism succinctly in his article *Bibeltext des N. T.*, in HERZOG'S *Real-Encykl.* ii. 158 sqq.

[3] A small stereotyped edition, Leipz. 1850, contains the text of the second Leipsic edition, with the variations from the *textus receptus* [*editio stereotypa* 2, 1862]. Further: *N. T. triglottum, Græce, Latine, Germanice. Græcum textum addito lectt. variarum delectu recens., Latinum Hieronymi, notata Clementina lectione, ex auctoritate codd. restituit, Germanicum ad pristinam Lutheranæ ed. veritatem revocavit*, A. F. C. Tischendorf, Leipz. 1854, 2d ed. 1865. The Greek text of this *Triglottum* was separately printed, "*editio academica*," Leipz. 1855, 2d ed. 1857 [4th stereotyped edition, 1864, "*prolegomenis emendatis auctisque cum tabula duplici terræ sanctæ*"]. *N. T. Græce et Latine . . . ex triglottis*, Leipz. 1858. [*N. T. Græce et Germanice . . . ex triglottis*, 2 vols., Leipz. 1864; *N. T. Latine . . . ex triglottis*, Leipz. 1864.]

[4] The seventh edition of the *Crit. Minor*, 1859, contains the same text as this, with an abstract of the *apparatus criticus*.

Notitia cod. Sinait. The *eighth* larger critical edition, which began to be published in 1864, promises to give much additional and valuable material, with appropriate reference to the *Cod. Sinait.*]

(4.) S. P. TREGELLES, in 1844, published the Apocalypse in Greek, edited from the ancient authorities, with various readings, and a new English version. In this work he intimated his intention to prepare a new critical edition of the N. T., for which purpose he zealously began to labour, carefully examining many important witnesses, as we have already seen.[1] Of this edition Matthew and Mark were printed in 1857, Luke and John in a second part, 1861; [the third part, 1865, containing the Acts and General Epistles.] It is to give the Greek text with the Vulgate, according mainly to the *Cod. Amiatinus;* the Greek text according to the more important MSS.; the uncial codices and some others according to the ancient versions before the seventh century; and the testimonies of the Fathers down to Eusebius. His work is to differ from Lachmann's, by the wider circle of primary witnesses, and a careful testing of authorities; and from Tischendorf's, by more consistently giving prominence to the *old* witnesses, and a re-examination of the ancient versions and the Fathers. It promises to be a very important and valuable work.

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Here we may mention some smaller editions besides those of Griesbach and Tischendorf already named: (1.) G. CH. KNAPP (*ob.* 1825), Halle 1797, 4th ed. 1829, 5th ed. 1840, substantially the same as Griesbach's text, save that Knapp pays still less attention to the Elzevir text. Beneath the text the most important variations are noted. Much pains has been bestowed upon the order of words, the punctuation, accentuation, etc. (2.) H. A. SCHOTT (*ob.* 1835), the Greek text, with a new Latin version on the side. In the first

[1] See his edition of vol. iv. of Horne's *Introduction* (*vid.* § 17), and his work entitled *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek N. T.*, etc., London 1854; likewise his edition of the *Codex Zacynthius*, 1861.

edition (Leipz. 1805) the Greek text is Griesbach's; but in later editions this has been departed from, especially on internal grounds. The fourth edition (1839), with select variations, was prepared, from 2d Corinthians onwards, by Baumgarten-Crusius. (3.) J. A. H. TITTMANN (*ob.* 1831), a stereotyped edition, Leipz. 1820 and 1824, since edited by Aug. Hahn (1840), who subjected the text to a new examination, and added a selection of various readings from Griesbach, Knapp, Scholz, Lachmann, with the readings of the *textus receptus*, which he too much accommodates to his own text. [A new stereotyped edition of Hahn appeared at Leipz. 1861.] (4.) J. S. VATER (*ob.* 1826), Halle 1824. The text is a recognition of Griesbach's and Knapp's, with a selection of variations, exegetical and critical notes, and registers, geographical and historical. (5.) AD. GÖSCHEN, with a preface by Lücke, Leipz. 1832, the Knappian text with a new Latin version, and the distinctive readings of Griesbach and Lachmann. (6.) K. G. W. THEILE, stereotyped edition, Leipz. 1844, as a new edition of Knapp's N. T., 6th ed. 1856, 7th ed. 1858. The text is that of Knapp, with some alterations; it is printed in double columns, with references; an *annotatio critica* (pp. 70), with the various readings of the received text of several editions, and of the oldest MSS. [8th ed. 1865, with an *Appendix Tischendorfii de cod. Sinaitico.*] (7.) PH. BUTTMANN, the co-editor of the larger Lachmann's edition, *N. T. Græce ad fidem potissimum cod. Vatic. B recens., var. lectiones cod. B, textus rec. editionum Griesb., Lachm., Tisch., integras adjecit*, Leipz. 1856, small 8vo, stereotyped, 2d ed. 1860, [3d ed. 1865.] As a supplement may be named, *Recensus omnium locorum, quibus codex Sinait. discrepat a textu editionis N. T., cui est titulus, N. T. Græce*, etc., Leipz. 1865, pp. viii. and 123. He has taken the text of *Cod. Vat.* from the larger edition of Lachmann, and forsakes it only where he concludes the reading to be false on internal grounds; and here he follows other ancient MSS. Where Cod. B is defective, he adopts the *Cod. Alex.* [Still closer to the *Cod. Vat.* is his edition printed in uncials, *N. T. Græce ad fidem cod.*

Vat. recens. Ph. Buttmann, Berlin 1862 (see above, § 269). (8.) *N. T. Textus Stephanici*, 1550; *accedunt variæ lectiones editionum Bezæ, Elzeviri, Lachmanni, Tischendorfii, et Tregellesii*; F. H. SCRIVENER, Cambridge 1859.. Also, by the same author, may here be named *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T. for the use of Biblical Students*, Cambridge 1861.

The fourth volume of STIER and THEILE'S *Polyglotten Bibel zum praktischen Handgebrauch* contains the N. T., the Greek text according to the Elzevir edition, with various readings of modern editions, and of some of the uncial MSS., the Latin text of the Vulgate, and Luther's German translation, with the various readings of some modern German translations. A supplement to the fourth edition of this fourth volume contains the variations of the *Cod. Sinait.*, and is separately published under the title, *Collatio textus Græci edit. polygl. cum N. T. Sinaitico.*—B.]

[To these may be added, *The New Testament;* the authorized English version, with introduction, and various readings from the three most celebrated MSS. of the original Greek text, by Constantine Tischendorf; Tauchnitz edition, volume 1000, Leipzig and London 1869. Also, by the same editor, *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*, 1867, containing many corrections of Mai's edition. Further corrections were supplied by the fac-simile edition of Vercelloni and Cozza, 1868, which are included in the *Appendix N. T. Vaticani*, 1869.—TR.]

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